INTEREST MISTAKEN. 16

OR,

# The Holy Cheat;

PROVING,

From the undeniable Practises and Positions of the Presbyterians, that the Design of that Party is to enslave both King and People under the Masque of RELIGION.

By way of Observation upon a Treatise,

ENTITULED,

*The Interest of* England *in the Matter of*

# RELIGION, &c.

By *Roger L'estrange.*

Aug. De Civ. Dei.

*Nullo modo his artibus placatur Divina Majestas, quibus Humana Dignitas inquinatur.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in *Ivy-lane*, 1661.

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~~1637.01~~

To the Honourable

# HOUSE of COMMONS

Assembled in

# PARLIAMENT.

*Most Honourable,*

TO *begg your* Pardon, *or* Protection, *were to suppose a* Fault, *or* Hazzard, *but in this Dedication finding neither, I shall waive that Formality: humbly submitting* what *I have to say; my* Reasons, *and my* Self, *to your* Authority, *and* Wisedom, *without more Prologue, or Apology.*

*There is a Faction which under the note of* Presbyterian, *seems much concerned to stickle against* Bishops, *and* Church-rites, *on the behalf of* tender Consciences. *Their Writings and Opinions, are with great* Freedome, Craft, *and* Diligence, *dispers'd throughout the Nation; to the great Scandal of the true Church, and the Encouragement of those of the Revolt. But this is yet the least*

part of the Mischief, or in effect of their Design: Their Ayme being to Tumultuate the People, and make a Partie against the Civil Power. Indeed their Pamphlets wear the Face of Church-disputes, and Modells; but he that reads them through, shall find the King's Authority the Question.

That the late war against the King was Lawfull; is a Position common to them all, and this they publiquely maintain, as the main Basis of the Cause. By which assertion, they cast the Bloud, and Guilt upon His Majesty; make his Adhærents Traytors: place the Supreme Authority in the two Houses: subject the Law to an Ordinance: the Government, to a Faction: and animate the Schismatiques to serve His Majesty in being as they did His Father. This is the drift of their seditious Libells, and of their Projects too; if any judgement may be made upon their strict conformity of Argument, and Methode, to those that first embroyl'd us.

How farr this matter may require your Care, becomes not me to meddle: I thought it might be worth your Honours Knowledge, and led by an Opinion of my Duty, this state of the Affair, (such as it is) I doe most humbly lay before you.

His Majesty had no sooner set Foot upon English ground, but swarms of Pestilent papers were in a Readiness to enterteyn him. Some of the sharpest of them, I delivered

*livered to several Members of that Session, with the Stationers name for whom they were Printed,* ( Smith, *at the* Bible *in* Cornhill, Croftons *Agent* ) *but all too little to suppress them. One Passage is this that Followes, speaking of the limited Power of Kings* —

This may serve to justify the proceedings of this Kingdom against the late King, who in an hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Lawes and Liberties. *Dowglas his Coronation Sermon,* Page 10.

*Hand in hand with this* Pamphlet, *came forth* Smectymnuus; Reviv'd, *and* recommended *by Mr.* Manton: *and since that time, some Hundreds more of the same stamp, whose common busines 'tis, by Affronting of the* Law, *and Flattering of the* Rabble *to cast all back into Confusion. Among the many other* Actours *of Religion, I find not any man playes his* part *better, then the Author of That Treatise which hath extorted This: who indeed, abuses the People in very good terms. Some hasty Observations I have pas'd upon him, in favour of the easie, and deceiveable Vulgar; which* Fraylties *I submit to your Honours* Charity; *but the main* Equity *of the Cause, I hope, will stand the test of your severest* Justice: *for doubtlesse*

*much*

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*much is due to the late King's* Honour, *as well as to his* Blood.

*And something, (with Submission to your Wisedomes) may be allow'd to his* Party: *at least sufficient to protect them from* Popular *contempt, and the Infamous lash of every daring Libell.*

*I dare not trust my self further with my own thoughts, and yet I take them to be such as very well consist with the Duty of*

Your Honours most Obedient

and Humble Servant,

*Roger L'estrange.*

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TO

# TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

THe *Common good* is the Common pretence of all ſeditious Combinations: and it is no new thing for a *Crafty Faction* to impoſe upon a *ſimple Multitude*, empty *Appearances*, for *Truths* and *Reaſon*. But our Reformers ſcorn to ſtop at this dull, general method of Confuſion. The Law of *God* muſt be ſubjected as well as that of the *Nation*; we muſt call *Treaſon*, *Loyalty*, and commit *Murther* as a point of *Conſcience*.

No leſſe than this is hinted in the Presbyterian's Juſtification of the *Scotiſh League* and *Quarrel*: nor have they any other aym, than by procuring an Allowance

lowance of *That War*, to make way to *Another*. To this end, they diſperſe their poyſonous Infuſions into all Quarters of the Kingdom, under thoſe very Formes of *Piety*, and *Tenderneſſe*, by which they firſt betrayed us: and by thoſe very means do they now proſecute afreſh their firſt Intentions. That is, they labour to promote the Cauſe, by ſcandalous and rank *Invectives*, againſt the *Church*, and ſtirring up of *Tumults* to *Reform* it: by a loud Phariſaical *oſtentation* of their own *Holyneſſe*, and a ſoure churliſh Cenſure of all *Others*: by ſharp and ſawcy *Aſperſions* upon the *Royal Party*, and by Reflections yet more bitter and Audacious, upon his Sacred *Majeſty*, and his *Murther'd Father*.

To ſee theſe Libells paſſe with all Freedome, and Impunity, as if they were *Authorized*: and to obſerve what foul Miſtakes are grounded upon theſe groſſe Allowances, to the Kings Diſadvantage, and all without Controll or Confutation. *This*, and no other Reaſon (ſo God bleſſe me) that is; of private *Paſſion*, or *Animoſity* of temper) hath drawn this honeſt Folly from me. I reckon it my *Duty* to my *Prince* and *Country*, to my own *Honour*, and to the *Oathe* I have taken, *Where-ever I find a publique Enemy to diſcover him*: and being thus Commiſſioned, both by *Authority* and *Conſcience*, I proceed. Th

## *To the People.*

The *Benefit* of this Treatiſe is directed to the *People*, and the *Deſign* of it is onely to lay open the *Presbyterian Juggle*, that in one Age they be not twice deluded by the ſame Impoſture. My *Arguments* are Drawn from their own *Practiſes*, and *Poſitions*: from *Preſidents* of Former times; (*Cartwright* and his *Diſciples*) from what hath paſſed within our own *Experience*; from what theſe very men have *done*, and from the very Logique of their own *Writings*, what they profeſſe, they doe intend to doe.

As the *Deluſion* is apparent, ſo is the *Juſtice* of *Diſcourſing* it. Can it be thought, that by the *Act* of *Pardon*, his Majeſty ever meant to ſubject all the *Sober* and *Legal Intereſts* of the *Nation*, to be worried by a *Faction*? Who of the *Royal Party* charges them? Or if they did, what has the *Law* done to offend them? Or ſay the *Law* be ſharp againſt them, his *Majeſties unparalell'd Mercy* has by his Royal Grace taken off the edge of it; hazzarding himſelf to preſerve theſe unthankfull People, which are now practiſing upon that Authoritie, that ſaved them.

And I beſeech you what is the goodly Subject of the Controverſie? The *Presbyterian Diſcipline* forſooth; and *Ceremonies* of *Myſtical* and *Humane Inſtitution*.

Touching the *Former*; St. *Auguſtine* tells us, that *Aërius* turn'd *Heretique* upon the miſſe of a *Biſhop-prick*. (the firſt aſſertor of *Church-Parity*) I am affraid ſome of our Reverend Clergy are ſick of his diſeaſe; for their deſign is not ſo much to convert *Biſhops* into *Presbyters*, as to make every *Presbyter* a *Biſhop*.

And then for *Ceremonies*; they teaz and chafe the *Common-people* into a pettiſh ſcruple, that would be well and quiet enough without them. They make their *Conſciences* like *Skittiſh Jades*, that boggle at their own ſhadowes, and ſtart into a *Precipice* to avoid a *Feather*.

They tell us too of *Number*, and preſſe their Importunities in the Name *of many thouſands of the good people of the Nation*; ſo did the *Kings* inſolent *Judges*, and with as much truth the *one* as the *other*.

Let it be further noted, that in this caſe, the *Factious* and *Schiſmatical Clergy* are but (with reverence) *Bawds* to a *State-faction*. A *Tumult* for *Religion*, is within one ſtep of *Rebellion*.

Nor do they only ſhape their looſe *Opinions* to their lewd purpoſes, but by all ſecret *arts* and *practiſes*, they form their Parties. But here I am confin'd. ———

All I deſign is only a fit Caution to all *Well-meaning Subjects*, not to believe their *Eares* againſt their

*Reaſon.*

*Reaſon.* If they can adde one Syllable, of *Weight*, to what they have alreadie *Promiſed*, and *Broken*, I'le give my ſelf up to the Party.

This is not yet to caſt a general Blot upon all perſons of that Judgement, nor to excite any unquiet thoughts toward the reſt: but only to preſent a *Modeſt*, and an *Uſefull* warning to the people.

So far am I from a deſire to move any diſtemper, that I do poſitively affirm, ſhould the King (which is impoſſible) pick out of all his Subjects thoſe very perſons, who upon twentie years experience, have proved through all extremities how much they love his *Cauſe* and *Perſon*, above their *Lives* and *Fortunes*: ſhould, I ſay, theſe be pick'd out by his Majeſtie for Slaves to thoſe that with an equal *Zeal* and *Steadyneſs* have oppoſed him; Our Duty were the ſame yet. *Severity*, and *Kindneſſe* may move us as *Men*, but not as *Subjects*: *Obedience* to *Kings* being a *Divine Precept*, and not ſubjected to thoſe accidents which work upon our *Paſſions*.

Nor ſhall this ſenſe of my own Clearneſs betray me yet to a ſurprize; for I fore-ſee a thouſand miſchiefs may befall me, and all which either private Malice, or open and bold Prejudice can caſt upon me; I am provided for. To thoſe of the *Presbyterian* perſwaſion that truly love the King, I bear a more

then

then Ordinarie Reſpect, becauſe it is a more then Ordinarie Virtue, and for the reſt, I care not.

I am not now to learn the temper of the *Rigdi Presbyterians*. They did me once the Honour to *Condemn* me, almoſt at *Mid-night*, by a *Pack'd Committee*, and without a *Hearing*; almoſt four years they kept me in *Newgate* upon that Account. This was a pretty taſt of their good Nature. I do not now Complain, but I Confeſſe, it would have pleas'd me as well if the *Biſhop* that Chriſtens ſtill by the *Directory*, had choſen ſome other *Chancellour*, inſtead of my *Judge Advocate*: ———— But I deſire only to make a ſober uſe of theſe Miſtakes; The King knowes nothing of them.

God *Preſerve* his *Majeſty*, *Convert* his *Enemies*, and *Comfort* his *Friends*. *Farewell.*

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The Reader is deſired to adde what other Faults of the Preſs he findes to theſe following

*ERRATA.*

PAge 46. l. 28. r. *Peoples*, p. 56. Marg. r. 57. p. 61. l. ult. dele *I*, p. 75. l. 14. r. *properly*, p. 79. l. 12. r. *diſcerning*, p. 88. l. 4. r. *effect*, Ibid. l. 11. r. *ſource*, p. 118. l. 7. do. r. *is*, Ibid. l. 12. r. *Emphaſis*, Ibid. l. 16. r. *aſſume*, p. 124. l. 8. r. *they have to do*, p. 147 l. 22. r. *I pray'e*.

*Intereſt*

# Intereſt Miſtaken:

PROVING,

From the undenyable Practices and Poſitions of the *Presbyterians*, that the deſign of that Party is to enſlave both King and Kingdom, under the Maſque of

# RELIGION, &c.

IF the Authour of the *Intereſt of England*, &c. had meant fairly to the Queſtion, he would as well have told us the *Good* of *Biſhops*, and the *Ill* of *Presbyters*, as he hath done the contrary, and never have concluded For, or Againſt Either, from the Beſt Actions of the One, and the Worſt of the Other. At leaſt, a man would think this partiality of Method, might content him without the ſervice of thoſe little Arts he uſes to aid, and recommend his Undertaking. The Preſent ſtate of things, he repreſents quite other then it is: and raiſes thence a Political expedience of doing This, or That, — of Linking Intereſts, — never conſidering, that he Himſelf Creates that Intereſt, and gives Affairs the Face of that expedience. *Page the* 16. he laies his ground-work, In theſe following words.

*Among the various dis-agreeing Parties within this Kingdome, which seem to render it an indigested Masse of people; two main ones appear above the rest, of so large an interest, that if by any means they might become no more twain, but one; they would take in, and carry along the whole stream and strength of the Nation. And these two are the* Episcopal *and* Presbyterian *Parties, each of them highly laying claim to the Protestant Religion. And undoubtedly whilst these two remain divided, the Kingdom of* England, *and the Protestant Religion is divided against it self. This dis-union is removed either by the Abolition of one Party, or by the Coalition of both into one. The former if supposed possible, cannot be accomplished but by violent and perilious waies and means. The latter is brought to passe by Accommodation or mutual yielding. Moreover there is a third way imaginable, Toleration indulged to the weaker side. In which of these waies lies the true Interest of the King and Kingdom is the great Case of the time, and the Subject of this Discourse, which presumes not to inform his Majesty, but in subordination unto his declared moderation and condescention, endeavours, by shewing things as they are, to convince and perswade Interessed persons, that the Pacification begun for this* Interim *may be intire and perfect, and fully setled for perpetual unity.*

*Observation.*

Let it be here obſerved, *First*, what the *Difference* is; *Next*, betwixt *whom*; In the *Third* place the *Danger* of it; And *Laſtly*, the *Expedient* to Remove it.

It ſeems, the *Epiſcopal*, and *Presbyterian* Parties United in *Religion*, cannot Agree yet, about *Diſci-*

*pline*

*pline:* and *while Theſe Two remain Divided*, the Publique is in Danger. From Hence reſults the *Intereſt* of *Mutual Yielding*— (his *Coalition of Both Parties into One*) Upon which Hinge, moves the whole frame of his Deſign; and in Two Pages, he gives the Presbyter Poſſeſſion of his Claim, Deciding with exceeding eaſe, *the Caſe of King and Kingdome.*

*Opinion is a great Miſtreſſe*: for that which He ſo Magiſterially Lays down, and Challenges, appears to me miſ-ſtated, and worſe Managed. I muſt confeſſe, his Reduction of all other *Intereſts* under *Epiſcopal* and *Presbyterian*, is in ſome ſenſe, no ill *Dichotomy*, That is; Intended of the Two mayn Parties, whereof, the One's Againſt the Law, the Other for it: But why the ſingle Presbyterian ſhould be Eſteemed the Ballance of the Nation, I cannot Comprehend. If they are ſo, they ſhould do well to caſt their Cauſe upon a Popular Vote, and try the Iſſue by the Poll. For Quiet ſake, no matter, Many or Few, there may be Equity where there wants Number. Wee'll rather ſee in point of Right what 'tis they inſiſt upon. *Only exemption from Epiſcopal Authority, in things Indifferent, and of Humane Inſtitution.* To Cleer this point, We have *a judgement of Diſcretion* too, as well as They; A Freedome, and Capacity to diſtinguiſh betwixt a *Scandal Given*, and *Taken*; betwixt a Diſ-conformity proceeding from Conſcience, and from Paſſion; Where the Diſſent proceeds from Conſcience, a *Toleration* clears That Scruple: but our good peoples Liberty conſiſts in Burthening Others, as well as freeing Themſelves; and That's *Intolerable.*

How many ſtrange Indecencies are here, one upon the neck of Another! Firſt, here's the *Minor* part

impoſing upon the *Major* : Secondly, a *Novel*, and *Vulgar Imagination*, bearing down an *Apoſtolical Inſtitution*: Thirdly, a *Private Opinion*, conteſting with a *Solemn*, and *Publique Sanction*: and Finally, the Subject of all this Earneſtneſſe, in their own phraſe, is but a very *Accommodable difference*. From what I have ſaid, I am perſwaded, that *Tenderneſſe* to the *Conſcicncious*, and *Severity* to the *Pertinacious Presbyter*, is the true Intereſt of this Nation. Oh! but this worthy Gentleman tells us, that *Abolition if Poſſible is perillous*, and *Toleration* only an *Imaginary* Remedy. Is not this to Intimate, that the Party makes leſſe Conſcience of a Tumult, than of a Ceremony: and to argue the neceſſity of Complying, from the Danger of Refuſing? What would theſe people do if they had Power, that are ſo Bold without it! And yet our Politician tells us, it is the Kings Intereſt to Cloſe with them, He means perchance, *According to the Covenant*. The *Coalition*, There, of all Schiſms, and Hereſies into One Intereſt, was of great Reaſon, and Important Service to the Commune work: but we are now adviſing how to *Settle*, not to *Disjoynt* a Government, and to Incorporate Diſ-agreements, were to begin upon a Principle of Confuſion. As the Caſe ſtands with us in my weak Judgement, *Perſons* ſhould rather be Indulg'd, than *Parties*. My Reaſon is This; Some *Individuals* of that Perſwaſion, have done His Majeſty ſome Service, but (to the beſt of my Remembrance) the *Entire Party*, never any.

Yet One Reflexion more. Allow theſe People all their Askings. in what concerns their *Diſcipline*; Will they reſt Quiet There, without a further Hankering after more? (the *Legiſlative Power* perhaps; the

the *Militia*; — or ſome ſuch Trifle) I am the more ſuſpicious, becauſe I do not well remember, where ever That Party was ſatisfied with leſſe than All. Nor need I look far back for Inſtances to juſtifie my fears; But having in ſome meaſure hitherto Diſcovered his Foundation, wee'll forward now, and ſee what work he makes upon this Sandy Bottom, Taking his Title-page in my way; for to my thinking he ſtumbles at the Threſhold. —— It runs thus.

# The *Intereſt* of *England*

## In the Matter of

# RELIGION,

## Unfolded in the Solution of theſe

## Three

# QUESTIONS.

I. *Q. Whether the* Presbyterian *Party ſhould in Juſtice or Reaſon of State be Rejected and Depreſſed, or Protected and Incouraged.*

II. *Q. whether the* Presbyterian *Party may be Protected and Incouraged, and the* Epiſcopal *not Deſerted nor Diſobliged.*

III. *Q. Whether the Upholding of both Parties by a juſt and equal Accommodation, be not in it ſelf more deſirable and more agreeable to the State of* England, *Then the abſolute Exalting of the one Party, and the total Subverſion of the other.*

VVritten by *J. C.*

*Obſervation.*

I would fain know what's meant by *The Matter of Religion*, as it ſtands here related to *Civil Intereſt*? *Doctrine* it cannot be, for That were to adviſe a yielding upon a Principle of Policy, in Oppoſition to a Rule of Conſcience: ſubjecting *Intereſt* of *Religion*, which is *Eternal Happineſſe*, to *Reaſon of State*, which regards but *Temporal Convenience*. If it be *Diſcipline*, What's that to the *Intereſt of England*? Our Settlement depends upon a due Obedience to the Eſtabliſh'd Law; not the Encouraging of froward Humours, by an Audacious, and mil-govern'd Zeal, under pretext of *Conſcience* to Affront it. Let Authority Reform, and Private Perſons either Obey, or Suffer; we are to Anſwer for our own faults, not thoſe of the *Government*. And in fine, *If the Hill will not come to* Mahomet, *let* Mahomet *go to the Hill*.

After a pleaſant *Breviate* of the Story of our late Troubles, (handſomely Penn'd indeed) in his tenth Page he takes his Biaſſe.

*At length* (ſaies he) *a full Tide of Concurring Accidents carries him* (the Duke of *Albemarle*, then General) *to a cloſure with the ſober part of the Parliamentary party, who from firſt to laſt intended only a Reformation, and due regulation of things in Church and State, but abhorred the thought of deſtroying the King, or changing the Fundamental Lawes of the Kingdom.*

*Obſervation.*

I thought *the Act of* Pardon *and* Oblivion, had quieted

quieted all Animosities, and silenc'd all Discourses of this Quality; but 'tis, it seems, *The Interest of* England *in the matter of Religion*, to keep the Quarrel waking; and by Asserting the proceedings of the two Houses in the late Warre, to engage this King within the danger of his Fathers President. To be as free with the Authour, as he is with his Majesty, I'le put his meaning in a little plainer English.

Beside the Grand Division of the Nation into a *Royal* and a *Popular* Party; that Party which he here calls *Parliamentary*, is again *Split*; and under this Subdivision are Comprised, those which did Actually destroy the King; and those which by good Fortune, did it not. (Plainer yet; *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*.) The *Sober part*, (meaning the *Presbyterian*) He justifies *from first to last*, even to their very *Intentions*. (I must tread warily, for I am here upon a narrow, and a slippery path,) Not to Dispute the mans *Intuitive Knowledg*; wee'll rather modestly believe that They mistooke their way, then He, their meaning: for certainly, the *Murther* of the King, was not the only unlawfull violence Acted upon that Sacred Person, and he that stops there, does as much as nothing. I would not touch upon this subject, were I not bound by Oath, and Duty, to discharge my soul, in what concerns the Honour, and the Safety of my Prince. Can *the first Cause, asserted by both Houses*, in opposition to his late Majesty, be *justify'd*, and not the King *condemn'd*: And is not the *Honor*, and *Safety* of his Majesty that now is, concern'd in these *Indignities* upon his Murther'd Father? what was Then lawfull is so Still: and he that but implicitly charges the Last King, strikes at This. The text will bear no other sense without a

Tor-

Torture. But I ſhall by and by, compare him with himſelf. In the mean while we may explain one Presbyterian by another. *Dowglas*, in 1651. preach'd the Kings *Coronation-Sermon*. Which ſince his Majeſty's Return, is over and over again Reprinted.

*A King* (ſaies he) *abuſing his Power to the overthrow of Religion, Laws and Liberties, which are the very Fundamentals of this contract and Covenant, may be controlled and oppoſed; and if he ſet himſelf to overthrow all theſe by Armes, then they who have power, as the Eſtates of a Land, may and ought to reſiſt by Armes; Becauſe he doth, by that oppoſition, break the very bonds, and overthroweth all the eſſentials of this contract and Covenant.* *This may ſerve to Juſtifie the proceedings of this Kingdom againſt the late King, who in an hoſtile way ſet himſelf to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties.*

I think this needs no comment, —— About the ſame time, *Smectymnuus was revived by* Mr. *Manton*, (a moſt auſpicious wellcome doubtleſſe to his Majeſtie) wherein five Champions of the Cauſe take up the Cudgels againſt one Biſhop, on the behalf of Scandalous Pamphlets, and Tumultuary Petitions againſt Epiſcopacy. This is the naked Truth, what ever the Jolly Prieſt may tell the *Reader*, of *the Faction againſt which they dealt*. *Five Orthodox Divines* he ſayes were the Authors. *Four* of the *Five* I ſhall not mention, the *Fifth* was *Marſhall*, of whoſe *Divinity*, a Taſt; that by the ſweet Agreement, we may the better Judge of Mr. *Mantons*. In a *Letter printed* 1643. arguing for the Authority of the two Houſes. pag. 14 Thus.

* *Epiſtle to the Reader.*

*Let every ſoul in* England *be ſubject to King and Parliament,*

2 Leonard Forward

*liament, for they are the higher powers ordained unto you of God, whosoever therefore resisteth King and Parliament, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.*

The man was no Conjurer; yet he had wit enough, when *Presbytery* went down, to Court the rising Interest, and *though the Common Prayer was an Abomination*, to marry his Daughter by it, for fear of After-claps. But I suppose 'twas huddled up, as 'tis in Mr. *Mantons* Church, that no man might be able to make Oath 'twas not the *Directory*. If the Case had been concerning *the Allowance of Christian Burial to a Gentleman that was Quartered for his Loyalty. Or to Determine in the great point of the Late Kings Death, (upon an Anniversary Fast) whether or no 'twas Murther:* Truly considering *the Potent Arguments brought on both sides*, 'tis possible that Mr. *Marshal* would have contented himself (as well as his Neighbours) to put the Case, and leave the point at last undecided to his Auditory.

Not to spend time, and paper needlesly, the whole stream of the *Disciplinarians* runs this way: onely perhaps more or less Bold, and Open, according to the present strength, or weakness of the Faction. But to return. Can any thing bee more gentle then A Reformation, and due Regulation of things in Church, and State: (*words smoother then Oyle, yet are they very swords,*)

First, to *Reform*, and *Regulate*, belongs to the Supream Magistrate; if they intended *That*, they were to blame. Now take it in a Qualify'd, and softer sense, 'twas a Due Regulation they Intended. To put this General notion in more Intelligible termes; upon this point depends no less then all that's dear to every Honest man. The *Dignity of the King*, the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, the *Freedom of Parliaments*, and the *Honor*

of the *Nation*. God knowes my thoughts, I do not envy any man, either the Benefit of his Majesties *Mercy*, or the Blessing of his *Favour*, that hath the Grace at last not to Abuse it. I look upon his Royal Act of Pardon with Reverence; and upon every soul within that pale, as in a Sanctuary. But yet I do not understand a *Pardon* for one Rebellion, to be a *Dispensation* for another, nor how the Argument lyes from Fact, to Right. Under these two words, Due Regulation; Thus much is comprehended, (waving less Differences, and Greater.)

Presbyterian Regulation.

First! *The transferring of the Power of chusing Great Officers, and Ministers of State; from the King to the Two Houses.*

2. *All matters of State, in the Interval of Parliaments must be Debated, and Concluded by a Counsel so Chosen, and in number, not above twenty five, nor under fifteen; and no Publick Act esteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major part of that Counsel; Attested under their Hands. And These too sworn to the sense of Both Houses.*

3. *The Lords and Commons must be intrusted with the Militia.*

4. *His Majesty may appoint, but the Two Houses or the Counsel, (in such manner as aforesaid) must Approve of All Governours of Forts, and Castles.*

Lastly, *No Peers hereafter made, must sit, or Vote in Parliament, unless Admitted thereunto by the Consent of Both Houses.*

Upon

Upon these Terms; *his Majesty shall be supported, in Honor, and Plenty; by his most Humble and Faithfull Subjects, who have in their Thoughts, and Desires nothing more Precious, (next to the Honour, and immediate Service of God) then their just, and faithful performance of their Duty to the King, and Kingdom.*

This is the **Due Regulation** *they Intended:* (for sure they *Meant* what they *Proposed,* to our Late Sovereign. I speak not this, of *Persons,* but of the Grosse of the Party, nor to reproach that neither; but to remove a *Scandal* from the Ashes of that Blessed *Martyr*; and to direct a *Reverence* towards his Successor. What provocation have these restless People, now to revive This Question: but an unruly Impotency of Passion against the Government? This is their way. In *Generals,* they justifie from first to last, the Presbyterians Cause. The multitude, they look into *Particulars:* and from those Injuries which the Late King sufferred, draw inferences Dis-honourable, and Dangerous to This.

In the next Periode, methinks he falls upon a *Non-sequitur.*

*The Re-admission of the Secluded Members,* (he saies) *did Necessarily draw after it, the Restoring of King, Lords, and Commons, according to the Ancient Constitution.* Page 10.

*Observation.*

Not *Necessarily,* (under Favour) *according to the Antient Constitution:* (I will not say nor probably; but) there were *two shrewd Blocks cast in the way.* The First, in the *Militia*; where no Comissionated Officer was to Act, that should not first acknowledge in these words, *viz.*

**I do acknowledge and Declare, that the Warre undertaken by Both Houses of Parliament in their defence against the forces raised in the Name of the Late King, was Just and Lawfull; and that Magistracy and Ministery, are the Ordinances of God.**

The Second, was in the exclusion of the Royal Party from the next Choice, as followeth

*Resolved that all and every Person who have advised or voluntarily aided, abbetted, or assisted, in any War against the Parliament (since the first day of* January 1641.) *his or their Sons, unlesse he or they have since Manifested their good affections to this Parliament, shall be uncapable to be elected to serve as Members of the next Parliament*

Now how a Choice thus limited in the House, and Principled in the Field, should *Necessarily* set us right, does not to me appear? Perhaps it was the most the Time would bear: but God forbid, *That Declaration charging the Guilt, and Blood of the late war upon the King*, should stand upon Record to future Generations. Whoever affirms That War was lawful, does beyond Question meditate Another; not to say more than needs, It Blasts the Memory of the Late King, and upon the King that now is, it reflects many Mischiefs: subjecting both his Dignity, and Person to His Fathers Hazzards. It administers Argument for a new War; and shakes the very Foundation of Royalty. Grant That, the Act of Oblivion is on the wrong side; If the King was in Fault, the Presbyterians

Look fourth leaves backward

Presbyterians must Grant the Pardon. From the clear Reason of the matter in it self, and from the obvious Consequences; beside that justice which both King and People owe to the Ashes of a Father and a Soveraign, It seems to me of high Concern, to Counter-State that Declaration, and *Place the Militia of this Nation now in such hands as will acknowledge the Late Kings Quarrell was Defensive.* I am the bolder in this Particular, because I find the Faction pressing beyond both Modesty and Reason, upon this Bottom.

Where Majesty it self is Affronted, it were a second Injury to allow the Servant better Quarter, than the Master. But they are very Exact, and Careful in this Particular: as will appear in what follows.

*After a dreadful Earthquake shaking all the Powers of* Page 12.
*the Kingdom, and overturning the very Foundations, and after a new frame of things erected standing for divers years, and seemingly stated for perpetuity, the Regal Family and Government is raised up again, not by the power or policy of that party who fought under the Banner of His late Majesty in the Wars, between Him and both Houses of Parliament; But by the restless desire of the Nation, and the vigorous actings of the City of* London, *with the concurrence of the Secluded Members of the Long Parliament, in conjunction with that Renowned Person who then held the power of the Sword.*

*Observ.*

Let it be noted here, that (by His Confession) *the War was between the King and both Houses of Parliament.* Now *to that Party who fought under the Banner*

*ver of His Late Majeſty.* (whom he might have ſpared for the Generall's ſake) Truly conſidering what havock hath been made of them, by *Slaughters, Extrajudicial Sentences, Plunders, Sequeſtrations, Impriſonments, Baniſhments; Shipping them away into Plantations, &c.* —— And this for twenty years continuance. 'Tis no great wonder to find ſome Abatement of their Power. But to Affirm they contributed nothing to His Majeſties Reſtauration, is very unkind, and ſomething Raſh; The *Nation* did; (he ſayes) the *City* of *London*, and the *Secluded Members* of the *Long Parliament*; but not *That Party* (A pleaſant and Phantaſtical Diſ-junction.) This way of barely Affirming, and Denying; Crying One Party Up, and the Other Down, and proving nothing, is neither Mannerly, nor Prudent. How comes this man of *Metaphyſical Inſpection*, that reades the very *Thoughts* of the *Fresbyterians*, and ſeems ſo well enformed in all the *Actings* of the *Royal Party*: How comes he by this wondrous Inſight and Intelligence? Does he not find that all he ſayes is nothing, unleſs he can *See things Inviſible, and Prove Negatives?* Is This the Work of the Spirit of *Pacification?* Or will he tell us, in the Holy Dialect, that *'tis the Enmity betwixt the Seed of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent?* So far were *we*, (for I write my ſelf of that Party) from this Unfriendly, and Unchriſtian Temper of Diſ-uniting, that we Declared unanimouſly againſt it, binding our ſelves by all that's Sacred, to an Eternal Union with all Parties, in order to the Reſtauration of His Majeſty, all Differences apart; of what Degree or Quality ſoever. In This, we had an eye to the Kings Intereſt, and to the Nations; for it Referred both to His Majeſties Return,

and

and to a Lasting Peace: the Former being Facilitated by that Conjunction of *Interests*; and the Latter, provided for by a Conciliation of *Affections*, to be wrought by suppressing all *Motions* toward Revenge in the one Party, and the *Fears* of it in the *other*. It had been good manners to have met us half way; but truly high Discretion, as well as Commune Equity, to Close with us, and entertain the Offer. But far from this, we do not only get not one *Good* word, but many a bad one: *Such, as those People that will never Leave the King, are to expect from such as do not love Him.* Our Adversary talks much of the *Gospel*. Is it a *Gospel-Precept, to render Evil for Good?* What I have shewed already, that the Kings Party did, amounts to somewhat more than nothing. We'll see a little further, allowing yet to all that Acted in that work their share of Glory.

The Duke of *Albemarle* was the Leading Card, *then in the head of an Army, better dispos'd to his Command, then Design*; and to him the Honest part of the City and Nation were no ill Seconds. But till he had tasted and try'd them, he did well to walk warily: and rather take the middle and safer way of Gratifying All Interests then on foot, then the more Positive, and Hazzardous, of disobliging any Two Parties, in favour of the Third,

For there were Then Three several Interests in Play: The *Kings*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Phanatiques*: The *Royal Party* press'd for a Free Choice and Convention, without *Prelimitation*. The *Presbyterians urg'd* a Readmission of the *Secluded Members*. The *Phanatiques*, they were for filling up the House, according to such Qulifications as the Rump should resolve

ſolve upon. The Courſe the General ſteer'd was This; —the *Rump* Continued; the *Secluded Members* Returned; and the *Royaliſts* were ſatisfy'd with the Aſſurance of a new Choice ſoon After. His Excellence acting in this Affair rather as a Conciliatour, than a Party, and in order to a Settlement, giving things the beſt Conſiſtency they would then bear. *But had the antient Stock of Royaliſts no hand at all in this procurement?* It never came to Blows, ſo that the matter Reſts upon the Effects of Policy, & Counſel; whereof our undertaker cannot give any abſolute account, nor ſhall we in our juſt Apology, exalt our ſelves, and Crie, *We brought the King in.* That's *Presbyterian Language.* We did not drive Him out, we'll ſay; and that we joyn'd with many Thouſands, as honeſt as our ſelves, in Duty to Reſtore Him. Where there was place for Action, and to do the King a ſervice that way, we never Articled for Offices or Rewards, but without further care of Intereſt, purſu'd our Duties. In fine, the Loyal Part of the Nation was animated by the ſame Soul, joyn'd Stocks and Counſels: and many thouſands of Brave Fellows that never ſaw the King, were Proud and Ambitious to Dye for Him. I could ſay what was undertaken by the Old Royal Party, particularly, in *Hewſons* Scuffle, (and indeed where not) but that it caſts a Slurr upon ſome of His Majeſties new Friends. This however, thoſe Lads of the City, that would have done the work without more adoe, had they not been Muzzled by ſome of their Mungrel Magiſtrates, that Dined with the *Mayor*, and Supp'd with the *Committee of Safety*. thoſe honeſt people will if need be, bear witneſſe for us, and in like manner the whole Nation, That by Action, Counſel, Writing, we did all that was poſſible in the Buſineſſe.

Looke 2 ſtands forward

Buſineſſe. What I have delivered in Defence of the Royal Party, does very well agree with His Majeſties Teſtimony of the Other, in His Gracious Speech to the Houſe of Peers, for haſtning *the Act of Indempnity*: which yet our Author cites againſt us.

*My Lords, if you do not joyn with Me in extinguiſhing thoſe fears which keep mens hearts awake, and apprehenſive of ſafety and ſecurity, you keep Me from performing my promiſe, which if I had not made, I am perſwaded that neither I nor you had been now here: I pray you let Us not deceive thoſe who brought Us, or permitted Us to come together.*

*Obſervation.*

The King does not There ſay ſo much who *Brought* Him in, as who *Permitted* His Reſtoring; Implying too, that He was fain to *Condition* for it, but withal, a great Earneſtneſſe to perform His Promiſe. Had but this Gentleman conſidered as well what the King ſaid at the *Paſſing* of the *Indempnity*, as the *Haſtening* of it, this wrangle would have been ſaved: Ill do him the ſervice to mind him of it.

*I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indempnity, to that time which is mentioned in the Bill, Nay I will tell you, that from that time to this day, I will not uſe great ſeverity, except in ſuch Caſes where the Malice is Notorious, and the Publique Peace exceedingly concerned: But for the time to come, the ſame Diſcretion and Conſcience which diſpoſed Me to the Clemency I have expreſſed,*

*which is most agreeable to My Nature, will oblige Me to all Rigor and Severity, how contrary soever it be to My Nature, towards those who shall not now Acquiesce, but continue to manifest their Sedition and Dislike of the Government either in Action or Words; And I must conjure you all (My Lords and Gentlemen, to concur with Me in this just and necessary Severity; And that you will in your several Stations, be so jealous of the publique peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cause exemplary Justice to be done upon those who are guilty of Seditious Speeches or Writings, as well as those who break out into Seditious Actions: And that you will believe those who delight in reproaching and traducing My Person, not to be well affected to you and the Publique Peace. Never King valued himself more upon the Affections of his People, than I do; Nor do I know a better way to make My Self sure of your Affections, than by being Just and Kind to you all, and whilst I am so, I pray let the world see, that I am possessed af your Affections.*

Thus far the Groundwork; now the goodly Structure.

Page 14. *His Majesty thus brought back to a willing and free-spirited people by their own Act, beholds his undoubted Interest set forth to his hand, and made plain before him, which is no other, than a well tempered and composed State of Affairs both Religious and Civil in all his Dominions, by the abolishing of former differences, and the reconciling of all reconcileable Parties; and especially of those grand*

*Parties;*

*Parties, which (if made one) do upon the matter carry the whole Nation. And this His Majesties wisdom hath already observed in that excellent Proclamation against vitious, debauched, and prophane persons, in the words* [That the Reconciliation and Union of hearts and affections can only with Gods blessing make us rejoice in each other, and keep our Enemies from rejoycing.] *And this is the earnest expectation and hope of the Religious, and well affected to the publick Tranquillity, That the King, our Supream Head and Governour, whose gracious Disposition doth not suffer him to cleave to any divided part of his Subjects, and to reject others that are alike Loyal, will as a Common Father, protect and cherish all those that are found capable and worthy, and become our great Moderator by his Authority and Wisdom, to lessen differences, and allay Animosities between dissenting brethren, which already agree in the main Points of Religion.*

*Observation.*

Having hitherto asserted, that those who fought under the late Kings Banner, were not his Majesties Friends, and that those that fought against it, ever were: he proceeds now to a Conclusion suitable to his premises, and states the Interest of the King in favour of that Voluntary Mistake: directing an Accord *betwixt all Reconcileable Parties*, and an Indulgence toward all those that are *found Capable*, and *Worthy*. In *Both* (and in *All*) Cases, the Presbyterian himself must be the Judge: and then we know what will become of *Royalists* and *Bishops*. The Kings Friends have ever had the Honour to be Divided (by these People) into persons *Popishly affected*, *Evil Counsellours*,

*lours*, and *Looſe Livers*; and it is evident, that they deſign, under theſe Limitations of *Reconcileable*, *Capable*, and *worthy*, to caſt all ſuch as Conſcienciouſly, and frankly adhære to *Monarchy*, and *Epiſcopacy*, out of the terms of their prerended Pacification. All thoſe that *They find* Capable, & Worthy, and eſteem Reconcileable, ſhall be admitted. And now the *Queſtion* is,

I. Qu. *Whether in Juſtice or Reaſon of State the* Presbyterian *Party ſhould be Rejected and Depreſſed, or Protected and Incouraged.*

*Obſervation.*

It would be firſt agreed what's meant by the *Presbyterian* Party: We'll weigh the *Juſtice*, and *Reaſon* of the Propoſition after: his own Remarque upon it is not amiſſe.

Page 19. *As concerning their true Character, the Notation of the name whereby they are called is both too ſhallow and too narrow for it. The word* Presbyterian *hath not ſufficient depth to go to the root of the matter, nor breadth ſufficient to comprehend this ſort of men. That Form of Eccleſiaſtical Government by Parochial and Claſſical Presbyteries, Provincial and National Aſſemblies, is remote enough from their main Cauſe, and thoſe firm bonds that make them eternally one, in reſpect whereof many that approve a regulated Epiſcopacy will be found of their number.*

*Obſervation.*

'Tis truly, and well ſaid. Their *Cauſe* is not the *Form*, but the *Exerciſe* of Government: for they like well enough to have that Power Themſelves, which they condemn in Others. Nor do I doubt but *many of them approve a Regulated Epiſcopacy*; that is,

a

a *Presbyter* in a *Bishops* seat, where the *Office* appears *Regulated* by the *Person*, as 'tis in a *Regulated Monarchy*; Where the King's subject to the Law, and the Law to the two Houses. But I condemn not All, that wear that Character. The Wise, and Honest Few of that Denomination, who keep themselves within the terms of Duty, and the Question: Such as can talk of the Church, without disturbing the State; and debate their private Opinions, without giving publique Scandal: For these, I have much Charity, and Reverence, and wish as great a tenderness toward them, as they themselves desire. But where I see a Bold Seditious Faction, bidding defyance to the Civil Magistrate under the Churches Colours: I find not any thing so Sacred in the Name of Presbyterian, as to protect a Turbulent Party assuming that Appellation. It will be urg'd, that they do as little Justify the *Seditious*, as I Condemn the *Sober Presbyterian*. But to agree that point, I'le prove, that the same Party, for whom they plead, and against whom I engage, are no lesse Enemies to the *King*, and *People*, than to *Bishops*: and which is more; from their own practices, and positions; I'le make this good. Yet one would hardly guesse this from their Character.

*As concerning their main and rooted principles they* Page 20.
*admire and Magnifie the holy Scriptures, and take them for the absolute perfect Rule of Faith and Life, without the supplement of Ecclesiastical Tradition; yet they deny not due respect and reverence to venerable Antiquity. They assert the study and knowledge of the Scriptures to be the duty and priviledge of all Christians, that according to their several capacities being skilfull in the word of Righteousness they may discern between good and evil, and being fill'd with all goodness may be able to exhort and admonish*

moniſh one another: Yet they acknowledge the neceſſity of a ſtanding Goſpel-Miniſtry, and receive the directive authority of the Church not with implicite Faith, but the Judgement of diſcretion: They hold the teaching of the Spirit neceſſary to the ſaving knowledge of Chriſt: Yet they do not hold that the Spirit bringeth new Revelations, but that he opens the eys of the Underſtanding to diſcern what is of old revealed in the written Word; They exalt divine Ordinances, but debaſe humane Inventions in Gods worſhip, particularly Ceremonies properly Religious, and of Inſtituted Myſtical ſignification: Yet they allow the natural expreſſions of Reverence and Devotion, as kneeling and lifting up of the hands and eyes in prayer; as alſo thoſe meer Circumſtances of decency and order, the omiſſion whereof would make the ſervice of God either undecent or leſſe decent. As they worſhip God in the ſpirit according to the ſimplicity of Goſpel Inſtitutions, ſo they rejoice in Chriſt Jeſus, having no confidence in a legal Righteouſneſſe, but deſire to be found in him who is made unto us Righteouſneſſe by gracious Imputation: Yet withal they affirm conſtantly that good works of piety towards God, and of Juſtice and Charity towards men are neceſſary to ſalvation. Their Doctrine bears full conformity with that of the Reformed Churches held forth in their publick Confeſſions, and particularly with that of the Church of England in the nine and thirty Articles, only one or two paſſages peradventure excepted, ſo far as they may import the aſſerting of Prelacy and humane Myſtical Ceremonies. They inſiſt much on the neceſſity of Regeneration, and therein lay the groundwork for the practiſe of godlineſſe: They preſſe upon themſelves and others the ſevere exerciſe not of a Popiſh, outſide, formal, but a ſpiritual and real mortification, and ſelf-denial, according to the power of Chriſtianity. They are ſtrict obſervers of the Lords day, and

conſtant

*constant in Family prayer: They abstain from oaths, yea petty oaths, and the irreverent usage of Gods name in common discourse; and in a word, they are sober, just and circumspect in their whole behaviour. Such is the temper and constitution of this party, which in its full latitude lies in the middle between those that affect a* Ceremonial Worship, *and the height of Hierarchical Government on the one hand, and those that reject an ordained Ministry and setled* Church *order, and regular Unity, on the other hand.*

*Observation.*

Here is much said and little prov'd; Only a Pharisaical Story, of what they are not, and what they are; that they are not as other men are, and their bare word for all. The Tale is well enough told to catch the silly vulgar, that look no further than Appearances: But to a serious person, how grosse, and palpable is the Imposture! *In the main points of Doctrine they fully agree with the nine and thirty Articles*: and 'tis but *peradventure*, that they differ, in *one or two passages, so far as they may import the Asserting of Prelacy and humane Mystical Ceremonies.* ]

Behold the mighty Subject of an Holy War; the goodly *Idoll* to which we have Sacrific'd so much Christian Blood. Can any man imagin this the true, & Conscientious reason of the Quarrel? Or that the middle way our Presbyter steers betwixt *Phanaticisme*, and *Popery*, is the just measure of the Case. But hear him on, and he'll tell you that the Party is Numerous as well as Godly.

*Within these extensive limits the* Presbyterian *party* Page 23. *contains several thousands of learned, godly orthodox Ministers, being diligent and profitable Preachers of the Word, and exemplary in their* Conversation; *among whom there are not a few that excell in Polemical and Practical Divinity;*

*nity; also of the judicious, sober, serious part of the people, (in whose affections his Majesty is most concerned) they are not the lesser number. By means of a practical Ministery this way like the Leaven in the Gospel-parable hath spread and seasoned the more considerate and teachable sort in all parts of the Kingdome, and especially in the more civilized places, as Cities and Towns.*

*Observation.*

It had been well our Undertaker had put his *Orthodox, and Learned Thousands* upon the List: for that Party is a little given to false Musters. How many forg'd *Petitions* and Remonstrances; what Out cries from the Presse, and Pulpit, in the name of the people, when yet the forty'th part of them were never privy to their own Askings! Of * ninety and seven Ministers within the Walls of *London*, fourscore and five were driven from their Churches, and Houses, at the beginning of our Troubles: and notwithstanding the monstrous Clamours which occasioned the Conference at *Hampton Court*, in 1603. * Archbishop *Spotswood* tells us, that [*of above nine thousand Ministers, but forty nine appeared upon the Roll, that stood out, and were deposed for disconformity: Such a noise will a few Disturbers cause in any Society where they are tolerated.*

* *See the History of the English and Scotch Presbytery* page 316.

* *Hist. of the Ch. of Scotl. p.* 479.

*The Presbyterians practical Ministry.*

Touching his *Practical Ministry*; I'le grant, the Cause is much beholden to the *Pulpit*, and that without the aid of seditious Lectures, I do believe the strife had never come to Blood: But yet these Preachments did not the whole Businesse. Do not we know what Craft and Violence hath been used to Cheat, and force the People; what *Protestations*, *Covenants*, and

*Negative*

*Negative oaths* have been Impoſed, upon pain of *Impriſonment, Baniſhment, Sequeſtration?* Have not all Schooles, and Nourceries of Piety and Learning been ſubjected to the Presbyterian mode, and many thouſands of Godly, and Reverend Divines, reduced to begge their Bread, becauſe they would not *Covenant*: yet all too little to procure either a General Kindneſſe, or ſubmiſsion to their Principles?

*For the Reaſons afore-going the infringement of due Libertie in theſe matters would perpetuate moſt unhappy Controverſies in the Church from Age to Age.* Page 25. *Let the Former times come in and give* Evidence. *As touching Ceremonies, the Conteſt began earely, even in King* EDWARDS *Reign, between* Hooper *and other Biſhops. The Conſecration of* Hooper *Elect Biſhop of* Gloceſter *being ſtayed becauſe he refuſed to weare certain Garments uſed by Popiſh Biſhops, he obtained Letters from the KING and from the* Earle *of* WARWICK *to the Archbiſhop of* CANTERBURY *and others, that he might not be burthened with certain Rites and Ceremonies, and an Oath commonly uſed in the Conſecration of Biſhops, which were offenſive to his Conſcience. Nevertheleſſe he found but harſh dealing from his Fellow-Biſhops, whereof ſome were afterwards his Fellow-Martyrs, and* Ridley *among others, who afterwards thus wrote unto him, when they were both Priſoners for the Goſpells.* [ *However in time paſt in certain Circumſtances and By matters of Religion your wiſedome, and my ſimplicity ( I grant ) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own ſence and judgement; Now be aſſured, that even with my whole heart in the Bowells of Chriſt I love you in the truth, and for the truths ſake which abideth in us.* ] *Some godly Martyrs in Queen* MARIES *dayes diſliked*

*diſliked the* Ceremonies. *and none of them dyed in the defence of* Ceremonies, *Liturgie, and Prelacy in oppoſition to all other* Eccleſiaſtical *Government and Order. It was the Proteſtant verity which they witneſſed and ſealed in blood in oppoſition to* Poperie, *eſpecially the prodigious Opinion of Tranſubſtantiation, and the Abomination of the Romiſh Maſſe, or Sacrifice. In the ſame bloody dayes certain* Engliſh *Proteſtants being fled for refuge into* Germany, *and ſetled at* Frankford, *were divided amongſt themſelves about the* Service-*book, even with ſcandalous breach of* Charity, *and in the iſſue the* Congregation *was ſadly broken and diſſipated.*

*Obſervation.*

*Presbyterian Liberty.*

What is intended by *Due Liberty*, might be a Doubt, but the Cohærence renders it, a Freedom of Acting to all intents and purpoſes at pleaſure, (whether without Law, or againſt it, no matter) according to ſuch preſidents of Former times, as our Reſolver refers unto, and juſtifies. He tells us, *the Conteſt about Ceremonies began early*; and ſo in truth it did: For in the time of King *Edward*, there was a wambling toward the *Geneva Diſcipline*; but neither very earneſt, nor very popular: and *That* (ſo far as I can learn) procured even by the Author of that Platform, *Calvin* himſelf. Concerning *Godly Martyrs in Queen Maries daies*: Some ſuffered that diſliked the Ceremonies: Others, that liked them. That *none died in defence of them*, is a Remarque might have been ſpared: For the Queſtion was matter of *Faith*, no

not *Diſcipline*. The *Franckford Breach* indeed was a ſad Story: but yet, conſidering the *Dividers*, of no great *Honour* or *Authoritie* to our Friends purpoſe. *Knox* and *Whittingham* were the prime Ringleaders in this Diſorder, who upon ſome Diſputes ſtarted about the Service Book, joyning with others of the Conſiſtorian ſtamp, drew ſuch an extract of it, as they thought fit, and ſent it to *Calvin*, requeſting his opinion of it. Such was the Anſwer they received, as blew the whole Congregation into a flame; from whence aroſe that ſcandalous breach enſuing, *viz.* The *Engliſh Service* being eſtabliſhed, *whittingham*, *Gilby*, *Goodman*, with ſome others, *Divided*, and went to *Geneva*, whence, both by *Letters*, and Diſcourſes they tampered the Miniſters and people of *England*, and *Scotland*, into a revolt, encouraging them to ſet up their new Diſcipline, in deſpight of all Oppoſers whatſoever.

*The Goſpell returning under Queen* Elizabeth, *theſe differences were revived and held up by Diſputes, Writings and Addreſſes to ſeveral Parliaments, and there were great thoughts of heart for theſe Diviſions.* Page 27.

*Obſervation.*

Why this is Engliſh yet: it is but turning now to Queen *Elizabeths* Reign to underſtand theſe People, and unriddle the *Due Liberty* they plead for. (But of This, in its proper place.) Having drawn down the Quarrel from *Edward* the Sixth, to the bleſſed Reſtauration of *Charles* the Second: (whom God protect) he proceeds to deſcant upon the Preſent.

*The greateſt part of the Miniſters named* Puritanes Page 28.

*yielded Conformity to thoſe controverted Rites and Forms, that were by Law or Canons eſtabliſhed, as to things burdenſome not deſirable, in their nature ſuppoſed indifferent, but in their uſe many waies offenſive; and groaning more and more under the yoke of bondage (as they conceived) they waited for deliverance, and were in the main, of one ſoul and ſpirit with the* Non conformiſts. *And even then the way called* Puritaniſm *did not give but get ground. But now the Tenents of this way are rooted more than ever; and thoſe things formerly impoſed, are now by many, if not by the moſt of this way, accounted not only burdenſome, but unlawfull.*

*Obſervation.*

*The conſequents of Presbyterian Liberty.*

But is it ſo, that Matters *by Law eſtabliſhed*, in themſelves *Indifferent*, and only *Burthenſome* to day, (*rebus ſic ſtantibus*) may become *Unlawfull* to morrow? By the ſame Rule Kings may be taken away as well as Biſhops; all Dignities and Powers being alike ſubmitted to a Popular Levell; For if the people ſhall think fit to ſay, the Magiſtrate is unlawfull, as well as the *Ceremony*, by the ſame Reaſon he may deſtroy *One* with the *Other*; and Virtually he does it. We know the *Rites* and *Forms* of Worſhipping, are not of the *Eſſence* of Religion, and the huge buſtle about Diſcipline, is only an appeal to Ignorance, and Tumult. *The Church muſt be Reformed.* By whom? Not by the Rabble. What means this application then of ſo many factious Sermons, and Libells to the *People*? They are not Judges of the Controverſy. But in a Cauſe more capable of *Force* then *Argument*, they do well to Negotiate, where *Clamour*, and *Pretence*, weigh more than *Modeſty* and *Reaſon*. If a man askes, by

by what Commiſſion Act theſe Zelots? They anſwer readily: *'Tis Gods Cauſe, and better obey God than Man.* He that ſaid, *Give not Credit to every Spirit*; I ſuppoſe knew as much of Gods mind, as our Illuminates. Is not miſtaken, or perverted Scripture, the ground of all *Schiſme*, and *Hereſy*? *Counſells may Erre*, they ſay, and cannot *Presbyterians*? How comes this Party to be more Infallible than their Neighbours? If they are not, let but all other people of Different Judgements take the ſame Freedome they do, of out-cries againſt any thing, under pretext of Conſcience; let any man imagine the confuſion. For, *where every man is his own Judge, All men ſhall Diſpute, till each Particular condemns himſelf: ſo that the ſtrife is endleſſe, and the Event Reſtleſneſſe, and Confuſion.*

This comes of not ſubmitting to ſome Final, and over-ruling Deciſion. Upon this pinch, at a dead lift, they fly to their *Judgment of Diſcretion*: which leaves them ſtill at Liberty to ſhape their Duty to their Profit. They tell us; *They'll be tryed by the Word of God*: not heeding, how *That* is again to be Try'd by *Them*: ſo that in Iſſue, their private Interpretation of the Scriptures muſt paſſe for the *Law Paramount*, to which both King and People are equally, and indiſpenſably ſubjected. Undoubtedly, what God Commands, we ought to do, and not to do what he forbids. This in few words, comprizes the Duty of Reaſonable Nature, without diſtinction either of *Offices* or *Perſons*. But theſe Inviolable *Fundamentals* apart, the *Accidents* of worſhip, the *Modes* of doing this or that; The *How*, *when*, *where*, &c. are left various, and variable, according to the ſeveral Requiries of *Manners*, *Times*, and *Places*, at the Diſcretion of thoſe Rulers whom God

ſets

ſets over us. Where we find matters of this middle nature orderly ſettled, and diſpos'd, we are commanded *to ſubmit to theſe Humane Ordinances for the Lords ſake:* and not to Obtrude upon the word for *Conſcience*, ſuch Diſagreements, as effectually ariſe from *Peeviſhneſſe*, or want of due *Enquiry*. But why do I talk to thoſe that ſtop their Ears?

Page 29. *Their minds are fix'd in this Opinion, after a long time of ſearch and practice, and are not like to be reduced to the practice of former times.*

*Obſervation.*

This is but *Martin Junior Revived*, who ſaies, *That it will be very dangerous to our State, to maintain two contrary Factions: That the Magiſtrates are then bound, even for the quieting of our State, to put down the one: that thoſe that ſtand for the Diſcipline, neither can nor will give it over, (ſo as they will not be put down) and that the ſaid Magiſtrates cannot maintain the corruption of our Church, namely, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, without the diſcontentment of their Subjects.*

Me thinks the man of peace grows peremptory. Will not this Argument from *Search* and *Practice*, abſolve them from Obedience to the King, as well as to the Church? Has not the *Regal Power* been ſcann'd and ſifted, as well as the *Eccleſiaſtick*: or have their *Practices* been more favourable to his Majeſty, than to the Clergy? But (*their minds are fix'd, and not to be reduced.*) This is to ſay, that if the Law and they

Page 29. cannot agree, they'll tugg for't, upon this ſuppoſition, thus he concludes. That (*in all reaſon, the impoſing of ſuch matters of Controverſie, as by ſo many are held unlawfull, and by thoſe that have a Zeal for them, judged in-*

*indifferent, not neceſſary, cannot procure the Peace of Church and Kingdome.*

*Obſervation.*

I ſay on the Contrary, That the peace of Church, and Kingdome cannot be preſerved, where every private and Licencious ſpirit ſhall dare to queſtion the Authority of either. In fine, admit the Scruple truly conſciencious: It would be well yet, that ſuch as fault the preſent Government, would Frame another, that ſhould be lyable to no exceptions, before they alter This. If that cannot be done, let us Reſt Here; for if we are bound to change till all are pleas'd, never muſt we expect to be at quiet. Some Conſciences will have no Magiſtrates at all; Others will Govern thoſe they have or Quarrel with them. To Reconcile theſe Two in any end of Settlement, is as Impoſſible as 'tis Unſafe to put much Power into the Hands of people, ſo dangerouſly principled: (But to Deſtroy a Government none agree better, and this we ſpeak upon Experience.)

From hence to his 40th. *Page*, I find little but Rapture, in commendation of the *Presbyterians*, with now and than a ſnap at the late *Prelates*, which is beſide my purpoſe. See now his Complement to the King.

*Bleſſed be God for our gracious Soveraign, who makes* Page 40. *it his care and ſtudy to allay diſtempers, and compoſe differences by his juſt and gracious Conceſſions already publiſhed concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.*

*Obſervation.*

*obſervation.*

For fear his Majeſtyes Conceſſions ſhould be taken for a pure Act of Grace, they are epitheted, *Juſt*, as well as *Gracious* to leſſen the Favour, by intimating the *Duty*, what Return gives the *Presbyterian* Party for this Indulgence? Are they not troubleſome as ever both in their Writings, and Contrivements? That Declaration was no ſooner publique, but a Petition was exhibited from divers Miniſters in and about *London*, for more Liberty, with ſome formalities indeed of Gratitude for That. How many bold and ſcandalous Invectives ſince that time, both from the Preſſe, and Pulpit againſt the Rites of the Church, and the Epiſcopal Clergy. Nay and againſt the Sacred Majeſty of That very Perſon, to whoſe Incomparable clemency they owe their Heads and Fortunes? One Obſervation here; To ſhew, that onely ſeverity can work upon this Faction; * *The ſingle impriſonment of* Croſton *hath quieted that Party more than all the multiply'd, and tranſcendent Mercies of his Majeſty.*

* *Note.*

That worthy Gent. in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the *Liturgical Conſiderator* tells us, that [*The Common-Prayer-book hath been expell'd by a Lawfull Authoritie.*] (referring to an Ordinance of *January* 3. 1644.) If this be not *Treaſon*, then *Scot* and *Peters* were no *Traytours*. The *Conſideratour* further aſſures us, *Page* 34. (*That very few Chriſtians, that know the Power of Godlyneſs, care for medling with the Liturgy.*) I hope his Majeſty may paſs for one of theſe *Few*.

A great Aſſert or of his Principles, is the Author of the *Covenanters Plea*, although in ſome Reſpects more plauſibly couch'd; in others Bolder; treating his Majeſty

Majesty with a most unpardonable Insolence; and with a suitable regard all his Episcopal Friends as they fall in his way. I should exceedingly wonder how he scap'd a Lash from the last Convention, especially Dedicating that reverend piece to the *Commons* then Assembled, did I not consider, that Those very Pamphlets whereof his Majesty complains in his Declaration touching *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, were by my self, at their first comming forth, delivered to several Members of that Session, which notwithstanding, they were still sold in the Hall; all the Interest I had being too little to get them suppressed. But now return we to our Author who complains, that

*The Presbyterians are loaded with many calumnies; as* Page 41.
*that they are against the Interest of Civil Magistracie, especially of Monarchie, that they are giddy, factious, schismatical, domineering, and what not?*

But no such matter he assures us, for (*They* Page 42.
*yield unto the Supream Magistrate a Supream politicall power in all spiritual matters, but they do not yield that he is the Fountain of spiritual power, there being a spiritual power belonging to the Church, if there were no Christian Magistrate in the world. They assert onely a spiritual power over the Conscience, as intrinsecally belonging to the Church; and acknowledge, that no Decree nor Canon of the Church can be a binding Law to the Subjects of any Kingdom under temporal penalties, till it be ratified by the Legislative power of that Kingdom. And they do not claim for the Convocation, or any other Ecclesiastical Convention, an Independencie on Parliaments; if they did, surely the Parliament of* England *would resent such a Claim.*

Neither are they *Antimonarchical. Did the English* Page 44.
*or Scotish Presbiters ever go about to dissolve Monarchie,*

*and to erect some other kind of Government? In no wise: for in the solemne League and Covenant they bound themselves to endeavour the preservation of the Kings Person and Authoritie, and declared they had no intent to diminish his Majesties just power and greatness.*

*Observation.*

How far their Principles comport with the Interest of *Civil Magistracy* or *Monarchy*, shall have a place by it self: yet I might very well content my self with what arises from his own words, as they lye here before us; to Prove what he Denyes: for in the same Breath he both starts the Question, and Resolves it. *Did not the English and Scotish Presbyters go about to dissolve Monarchie?*

*Presbytery Antimonarchical.* What is the Analysis of *Monarchie*, but a *Government* by a *Single Person?* (and as I take it, the Injur'd Father of our present Soveraign was That Person to whom of Right the Regal Dignity belonged.) Did not these Presbyters he talks of, place the Supream Power in the Two Houses, and under Their Commission seize the Kings Towns, and Forts: Levy Arms; Taxe the People; Plunder, and Kill their Fellow-Subjects; Impose Oathes, Share his Majesties Revenues; Persue, and Jewishly sell and betray his Sacred Person?

If to do all this, not onely Without, but expressly Against the Kings Commission, be not *to go about to dissolve Monarchie*, I know not what is. Or if the Gentleman had rather dispute the Royal Prerogative, than confess his own Mistake in this Particular, wee'l look a little that Way too: but I doubt the Prospect will be none of the pleasantest.

Upon

Upon the Tryal of *Cook* and *Peters*, This was Deliver'd for Law. *See the Narrative*, Page 182, and 183.

*It is the Law of this Nation, That no One House, nor Both Houses of Parliament have any Coercive power over the King: — That the Imprisoning of the King is Treason.* And a little further, Thus, *The King of England is one of those Princes who hath an Imperial Crown. What's That? It is not to do what he will; No, but it is that he shall not be punished in his own Person, if he doth That which is in it self Unlawfull.* The two Houses have no Coercive Power over the King.

This is a short, and clear Decision of the Case: nor will it serve the good mans turn to argue their Integrity, from what they were bound to by their *Covenant* and *Declarations*. It matters not what they *Profess'd*, but what they *Did*. If this be all they have to say; some Heads are now upon the City-Gates, that said as much. What was the *Covenant*, but a Popular Sacrament of Religious Disobedience, a Marque of Discrimination, who were against the King, and who were for him? And this the Marquisse of *Montross* soon found, who being at first unwarily engaged in it, with the *Kirk*-party, quickly perceived his errour, and retired, Living and Dying the Honour of his Nation and of the Royal Cause. Mark this, * *His Loyalty was charged upon him at his Death for Breach of* Covenant. The *Presbyterian Casuists* would fain perswade the Nation to think themselves obliged by that *Engagement*. Who *Understands* it first? (And certainly we cannot be bound to do we know not what) *Next*, 'tis Impossible either *The Covenant an Oathe of Confederacy.* * Note.

to *Keep*, or *Break* it: 'tis made up of ſo many Contradictions. But Once for All, there is a *Nullity* in the Inſtitution.

*The Covenant neither lawful nor binding.*

*No man can oblige himſelf in things wherein he is ſubject, without leave from his ſuperiour: And again, The Oath of one who is under the power of Another, without the others conſent, is neither Lawful nor Obligatory.* Thus the Reverend, and Learned, *Biſhop Sanderſon.* Now to my *Presbyterian* again.

Page 44. *After the violent change of Government, they came ſloweſt and entred lateſt into thoſe new Engagements impoſed by the Uſurped Powers, and ſome utterly refuſed, even to the forfeiture of their preferments, and the hazard of their livelihoods, when the Nation in general ſubmitted to the yoke; and many of thoſe who thus object againſt them, did in temporizing run with the foremoſt. The truth is, the generality of Conſcientious Presbiterians never ran with the current of thoſe times. Some more eminent among them, Miniſters and others, hazarded their lives, and others loſt their lives, in combining to bring our Soveraign that now is to the rightful poſſeſſion of this his Kingdome. And thoſe in* Scotland *adventured no more than all to uphold him; and when he loſt the day, they loſt their Libertie, and when he fell, it was ſaid by the Adverſarie, Presbitery was fallen.*

*Obſervation.*

*Some honeſt Presbyterians.*

Where I muſt either leave the Story foul on the Kings ſide, or prove it ſo on the Other, my choice is pardonable: but otherwiſe, I ſhall be very tender of engageing the *Honeſt Presbiterians*, with the *Guilty*. That many of them lov'd his Majeſty, and ſuffered for him, I will not queſtion; and that they all ſubmitted

moſt

most unwillingly, to that *Violent Change* here mentioned, I do as little doubt. But I must needs say, the Action had been Nobler, and the Loyalty much Clearer, had they consulted the Kings security, before they lost their own.

This does not yet oblige me to the same Charity for the *Scottish Party*; who first, during a Treaty with his Majesty, basely and brutishly murthered *Montrose*, and after that, treated the King himself, liker a Prisoner, than a Prince.

He urges, that [*the Presbiterians first divided, and then dissipated the Sectarian Partie, and so made way for his Majesties return in Peace.*] *Lambert*, and his Nine Worthies, did as much. I do believe him too, [*that the sence of the Covenant quickened many mens Consciences in their Allegeance to the King*] so did the Cock-crowing, mind St. *Peter* of the denial of his Master. *But he went out, and wept bitterly*: So does not every Body. Alas, alas, the Saints have no faults; what should they weep for? *It may be peradventure said, the Presbiterians would enervate Monarchy: but surely* (saies our Discourser)

Page 45.

Page 46.

*I cannot find the rise of this Objection, unlesse from hence, that they were not willing to come under any yoke but that of the Laws of the Realm, or to pay arbitrary Taxes levied without consent of Parliament.*

Ibid.

*Observation.*

From hence, these two Deductions; First, that the Subject's free from that which binds the King, namely, the *Yoke of Law*. Suppose He breaks that Law, by what Law can we question him? At best, 'tis but to punish one Transgression by Another. The *Second* Hint

Hint is Diſ-ingenuous: as if *Arbitrary Taxes* had been the ſubject of the Difference. All the world knows, before a blow was ſtrook, the King had ſtripp'd himſelf to his *Honour*, and his *Conſcience*, to gratifie his People. But 'twas the *Government* they aim'd at; and that they fought for. Here is yet another gentle ſlipp. What are *Taxes to Presbitery?* But this is a Devil that will hardly be kept within his Circle. Juſt ſo in their Practices do they reduce all Civil Actions, under the Cognizance of their Courts of Conſcience, as he brings here by head and ſhoulders, Arbitrary Taxes to Matter of Religion.

Page 46. *I confeſſe* (ſaies he) *there are none that more reverence their Liberties, and value the native happineſſe of the free-born Subjects of* England. *And verily their true knowledge and ſenſe of the nature of Chriſtian Religion makes a due freedom exceeding precious: For this Religion is not variable according to the will of man, but grounded upon an unchangeable and eternal truth, and doth indiſpenſibly bind every Soul high and low to one divine law and rule perpetual and unalterable. And therefore doth ſtrongly plead the expedience of a due civil liberty on the behalf of its Profeſſors. yet ſuch a liberty as will not infeeble Monarchy, nor the legal power of the Kings of* England.

*Obſervation.*

Truly I think I have not ſeen words ſo well put together that ſignifie ſo little. *Becauſe Religion is not variable, but grounded upon an unchangeable and eternal Truth* &c. —— *Therefore the Profeſſours of it muſt have a due Civil Liberty* &c. Is not a *Due Liberty, Due* to all people? Again, *What is Civil Liberty to matter of ſalvation?*

*vation?* And yet again. VVhy ſhould the Presbyterians challenge that Liberty to themſelves, which they refuſe to others, upon the very ſame Plea: and not rather ſubmit their *Diſcipline* to the *Law*, than ſtoop the *Law* to their *Diſcipline?* There is *a Liberty which is a Cloak for Maliciouſneſſe*: and I am much affraid, *Theirs* and *that* are akinn. One thing is very notable: they never ſtate what they would have, their termes are general, and indefinite, hard to be underſtood, becauſe they are reſolv'd not to be ſatisfied. *A Due Freedome, a Due Civil Liberty, The Legal Power.* What means all this, but any thing they ſhall be pleaſed to make of it?

*A King ruling a free People hath a power much more noble and more free, than he that ruleth over perfect Vaſſals, that have no Propriety. The power is more noble, becauſe it hath a more noble ſubject of Government; it is more honourable to rule men than beaſts, and Free men than Slaves. Likewiſe the power is more free: For whatſoever Prince hath not his power limited by his peoples legal freedom, he will be bound up ſome other way, either by the potency of ſubordinate Princes and great Lords within the Realm, or by a veterane Army, as the Turkiſh Emperour by his Janizaries, and the Roman Cæſars by the Pretorian Bands and the Legions. Upon which account, to be a powerful Monarch over a free people is the freedom and glory of our Soveraign Lord, above all the Potentates on earth.* Page 47.

*Obſervation.*

*A King ruling a free people*, is a kind of *Presbyterianiſme*, and ſounds better in the mouth of a Lawyer, than of a Divine. The Correlate to *Rule*, is *Subjection*: nor will their Title to a Propriety, yet juſtify the

the common uſage of the Term. 'Tis of a dangerous Intimation, and ſeems to give the people more than comes to their ſhare. ( I ſpeake with reverence to the Benignity of our Engliſh Laws, and the Indubitable right which every Subject hath to the Benefits thereof, That *it is more honourable to Rule free men, than Slaves*, is but a Complement. For I can make thoſe *Slaves*, *Free*, when I pleaſe, whereas the other way my power's confin'd; That is, in *Equity*, a Prince is bound to obſerve the *Law*, as his own Act: and if he fails, the people may compel him to it, *if they can ſhew a Law for't*. To end this point: What Prince ſoever ſhall ſuffer every bubbling brain to controvert the bounds of *King* and *Subject*; the *Royal Authority*, and the *Peoples Freedom*; that Prince I ſay, runs a great hazard of his Soveraignity. The very moving of the Queſtion, is to prophane the Sacredneſſe of Majeſty: and by degrees begets irreverend and ſawcy habits in the people.

Page 48. *But Rebellion* ( he tells us ) *and Diſobedience is the loud out-cry of ſome againſt this party. And this were a crying ſin indeed. But let not ſober minds be hurried into prejudice by ſuch exclamations and out-cries. It were to be wiſhed, for common peace and amity, that the late publick diſcords were eternally forgotten. But ſeeing ſome in theſe times of expected Reconciliation will not ceaſe to implead and condemn the honeſt minded, and render them odious to the higher powers, a neceſſity is laid upon us to ſpeak ſomething Apologetical, at leaſt to mitigate the buſineſſe and remove prejudice.*

*Obſervation.*

Sure *this loud out-cry of Rebellion and and Diſobedi-*

*ence*

*ence*, comes from within himself; for truly I have a little watch'd the Presse, and since his Majesties Return, (nay a good while before) upon my Conscience I have not met with one syllable of bitternesse against that party, but *Defensive*: Yet I dare undertake to produce forty Presbyterian Pamphlets, and Discourses, of fresh date, exceeding foul against the *King*, and his *Adherents*. It really makes me blush, and tremble to consider how great a mercy they abuse, how sad a vengeance they provoke. Had but these people the least spark of *natural affection*, and *Remorse*, the venerable ruines of a glorious Church and State would work upon them; Or now and then a thought how matters stand betwixt God and their Souls: But their great care of others, makes them neglect themselves, and become true *Anathemas* for a pretended publique good. However, they do well to cry Whore first; and call that a *Necessitated Apology*, which seems to me a palpable, and causeless Slander.

*Presbyterians seditious, and impenitent.*

We have heard much & often of the Presbyterians *Loyalty* and *Religion*: wee'll look a little now into their *Law*, which very fairly gives us to understand, that the *Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus*, will not do their trick. They are at work already upon the two main Propps of Royalty; the Kings *Negative Voice*; and the *Power of the Sword*. A blessed Age the while, when the *Pulpit* shall pretend to dispose of the *Crown*; Kerve out the *Government*: and every scribbling Priest vent his seditious and crude Politiques to the People. But now it works.

*The Presbyterian party in* England *never engaged under a lesse Authority than that of both Houses of Parliament. I have read that the Parliament of* England *hath* Page 45.

 *seve.*

*ſeveral capacities, and among the reſt, theſe two; First, that it repreſents the people as Subjects, and ſo it can do nothing but manifeſt their grievances, and petition for relief. Secondly, that by the conſtitution it hath part in the Soveraignty, and ſo it hath part in the legiſlative power, and in the final judgement. Now when as a part of the Legiſlative Power reſides in the two Houſes, as alſo a Power to redreſſe grievances, and to call into queſtion all Miniſters of State and Juſtice, and all Subjects of whatſoever degree in caſe of Delinquency, it might be thought that a part of the ſupream power doth reſide in them, though they have not the honorary Title.*

*Obſervation.*

*The two Houſes, not the Parliament.*

Methinks we ſhould do well to leave calling the *Two Houſes, the* Parliament *of England*, having already pay'd ſo dear for that miſtake. Concerning the *Power* of the *Parliament of England.*' Tis beyond doubt, only inferiour to the fountain of all Power, even God himſelf. But then an *Agreement* is imply'd; neither *King, Lords*, nor *Commons*, nor any *Two* of them, can pretend to a Parliamentary Authority, without the *Third.* This is not to ſuppoſe *Co-ordination* neither. The *Two Houſes* are ſtill *Subjects*: Their Office being only *Conſultive*, or *Preparatory.* The Character of *Power* reſts in the *final Sanction*, and that's the Kings. So that effectually, the paſſing of a Bill, is but the *granting of a Requeſt.* So much for *Parliaments*, in propriety of ſpeaking. Now to the Power of the two Houſes, (by my Antagoniſt miſ-call'd, *the Parliament of England*, upon which Bottom ſtands the Presbyterian Fabrick.

He tells us, they Act in *Two capacities.* As *Subject*

or *Petitioners*, firſt: and Then, as *Sharers* of the *Soveraignty*. That is, they are ſent to Ask what they Liſt, and Take what they Pleaſe. The *Petitioning Capacity* is not for the Presbyterians purpoſe; wherefore he waves That, and ſticks to the Other. What their Power is, will beſt appear from the Kings Writ of Summons, which both *Commands* and *Limits* them, *Pro QUIBUSDAM arduis, & urgentibus negotiis*, &c.— *ORDINAVIMUS*, &c.—He ſtates it otherwiſe, and places *a Part of the Legiſlative Power in the Two Houſes*; which is not Doctor-like. For the *Legiſlative Power* is totally the Kings. They do but make the *Bill*, He makes the *Law*; 'Tis the *ſtampe*, not the *Matter* makes it current. Nor do I comprehend what he can mean by *part of the Legiſlative power*: to my thinking, he might as well have ſaid *part of an Indiviſible point*. This will come to a pretty Fraction, Two Thirds of a Parliament, ſhall make Two Thirds of a Law. Is it not enough, that the King can do nothing without the Two Houſes, unleſs they may do every thing without the King? Grant this, and of all People living we are the greateſt Slaves, as of all Conſtitutions ours is the moſt Ridiculous.

The Legiſlative Power in the King.

Touching *the Power of the Two Houſes, to Redreſſe Grievances, and Queſtion all Miniſters of State and Juſtice*, ] The Power they have is either from Preſcription or Commiſſion. To the former, I think Few will pretend; and to the Latter, None. Never was the Houſe of *Commons*, at any hand reputed a Court of *Juſtice*. They cannot give an Oath, Impoſe a Fine: nor indeed exerciſe any Empire but over their own Members. 'Tis true, the *Lords* Houſe, hath in ſome Caſes a Right of Judicature; but Clay-

The two Houſes no Court of Judicature.

ming by Preſcription, they are likewiſe limited by Cuſtom. Further, *Both Houſes* are no Court of Judicature, and (with due Reverence to his Majeſty) the King himſelf in Parliament, joyn'd with the Three Eſtates, claim not a Right of Judication, but very rarely, and with great Tenderneſs. It is the proper Buſineſſe of a Parliament to *make Lawes*, *Alter*, or *Repeal* them; not to *Interpret* them; unleſſe in matters of very great Importance. That's left to the Judges; and to determine of their Validity. For Acts of Parliament, either *Repugnant* in themſelves or of *impoſſible Suppoſition*; or againſt *Common-Right*, are deem'd not Binding. The Common, and moſt ſpecious ſhift of all the reſt, is, that *the Government of this Nation is in King, Lords and Commons.* This muſt be ſwallowed with great waryneſs, or 'twill choak halfe the Nation. By the KING, *Architectonicè*, and by the other TWO, *Organicè*, (as *Walker* diſtinguiſhes it) the *King*, as the *Architect*; and the *Two Houſes*, as his *Inſtruments*. If there were neither *Practiſe*, *Law*, nor *Intereſt* in the Caſe, methinks the very oddes of Honour in the Deputation, ſhould be Enough to carry it. The *King* is *Gods* Repreſentative; *They* are but the *Peoples*.

Say I ſhould now admit them all they challenge, (as delegated by the People) ſo tickle is the point yet, that if any one ſingle Perſon of the Number, ſhould be illegally debarr'd the Freedom of his Vote; that nicety avoyds, and nulls the whole Proceeding. I can hardly think any thing clearer, than the errour of placing *part of the Supream power in the two Houſes*. It implyes a Contradiction. A *part* of a Thing (with leave) *Impartible*. (but Drowning men will catch at Straws) However, I perceive, that his *Majeſties beſt Friends*, and

and the *Churche's*, (as they ſtile themſelves) are reſolved to ſerve both *King* and *Biſhops* alike. That is, juſt as the Biſhop is to rule in *Conſociation* with his Presbyters, ſo ſhall his Majeſty with his *Fellow Princes*, the Presbyterian Members. It cannot but exceedingly diſpoſe the King to grant theſe people all DUE LIBERTY, that will give him ſo much. Crownes, are but Troubleſome; and Government ſits heavy upon the Shoulders of a Single Perſon; They'll eaſe him of that Care, and Weight: and for the *honour of their Prince, and their Countries good*, divide the Glorious load, among themſelves. *This being paſt*, (which Heaven avert) *we may* (ſayes the Late King) *be wayted on Bare headed, we may have our Hand kiſs'd, the ſtyle of Majeſty continued to us, and the Kings Authoritie, declared by both Houſes of Parliament, may be ſtill the ſtile of your Commands; we may have Swords, and Maces carryed before us, & pleaſe our Self with ſight of a Crown and Scepter*] —— But ſoft, the Man relents, and tells us, (though the Law ſayes the King can do no wrong, [*that This part of the Supreme power, is indeed capable of doing wrong, yet how it might be Guilty of Rebellion, is more difficult to conceive.*]

Presbyters ſerve King and Biſhops alike.

Exact Coll. 316.

Page 49.

*Obſervation.*

Put caſe the two Houſes ſhould take up Armes againſt the King, becauſe he will not Baniſh the one half of his Friends, and hang up the reſt: would not that be Rebellion? I could ſtart twenty Suppoſitions more; but I'll ſtop here: and the rather, becauſe our Author profeſſes, that [*in this high and tender point it belongs not to him to Determine.*] Yet he goes on, and certainly believes that the World is divided into *Fools* and

and *Presbyterians*: he would not otherwise have thrust upon us so gross a Juggle, as that which I am now about to examine.

Page 50. *Touching the much debated point of resisting the Higher Powers, without passing any judgement in the great Case of* England, *I shall only make rehearsal of the words of* Grotius *a man of Renown, and known to be neither Anti-monarchical, nor Anti prelatical, which are found in his Book* De jure belli & pacis, *by himself dedicated to the French King.* (Si Rex partem habeat summi Imperii, partem alteram populus aut Senatus, Regi in partem non suam involanti, vis justa opponi poterit, quia eatenus Imperium non habet. Quod locum habere censeo, etiamsi dictum sit, belli potestatem penes Regem fore. Id enim de bello externo intelligendum est, cum alioqui quisquis Imperii summi partem habeat, non possit non jus habere eam partem tuendi.) *lib.* 1. *c.* 4. *s.* 13.

*Observation.*

Presbyterians Loyalty. Here we find *Gretius* cited, to justifie that the Lords and Commons may make War against the King to defend their Title to the Supream Power. (*Pithagoras his opinion concerning Wilde fowle* had been as much to the purpose) For the English Readers sake, I'll *turn* it; and in this point desire a more than ordinary attention.

*Where the Supremacy is in the King, in some Cases, and in Others, in the People, or Senate. That King invading the others Right, may be lawfully resisted, for his power reaches not so far. And this I think will stand good, although I have already placed the right of making war, in the King; for that must be understood of a Foraign War: Since whosoever*

*ſoever hath a part of the Supream Power, hath conſequently a right of maintaining ſuch part as he hath*] There is one line yet remaining, which our Author hath very prudently kept for a Reſerve, till the Presbyterians ſhall have gotten the better of the King. *Quod ubi fit, poteſt Rex etiam ſuam Imperii partem belli jure amittere*; That is, *Where thus it happens, the Kings encroachment upon the Peoples Right, may fairly amount to a forfeiture of his own.*

Is it not pitty that people of theſe mild, and complying principles, ſhould be charg'd with *Diſobedience?* If this be the Caſe of *England*, the Queſtion is no longer, the *Presbyterians Liberty*, but the *Kings Title* to his *Crown.*

That Chapter of *Grotius*, whence he takes his Quotation, treats *De Bello ſubditorum, in Superiores*; *Where, and where not, Subjects may take up Armes againſt their Superiours.* This learned man, among other Caſes, tells us, in this they may, and the Reaſon is evident: For where the Soveraignity is thus diſpoſed; half to the King, half to the People, that Prince is but a *Subject* to ſome purpoſes, a *King* to others. So that in any point of Soveraignity, formally veſted in the people; He is not their Superiour, but they his. How finely he hath match'd the Caſe of *England*, where Kings have no Reſtraint, but what they put upon themſelves; for the Laws are their proper Acts. But marque the proceſſe of his Reaſonings: and how (in his own Phraſe) *he feels his way ſtep by ſtep. The Presbyterians were ever in the right*; he ſaies. Why if he would be quiet, who ſaies the contrary? But then the King was in the wrong. To bring the Caſe up to *Grotius* his determination: we muſt admit; *Firſt*, that by the conſtitution of *England*, the Soveraignty is ſhared

ſhared betwixt the King and the two Houſes: and *Next*, that the late King did Actually invade the Popular Prerogative: from whence ariſes the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance; and after that, *Poteſt Rex etiam ſuam Imperii partem Belli jure amittere.* They have at laſt the ſame right to the Crown, they had at firſt to the Quarrell. He that peruſes the firſt eight Sections of the foremention'd Chapter, will find *Grotius* no favourer of his opinions that quotes him. Be the Prince what he will, he tells us, *Summum Imperium tenentibus reſiſti jure non poſſe.* *Bodin* yet more expreſſely, that *England and Scotland are abſolute Monarchies.* That the *Supream Power* is only in the *King.* (*Jura Majeſtatis, ac Imperii ſummam, in unius Principis, Arbitrio verſari.* Further, *In Senatu nullum eſt Imperium*; Nor only ſo, but whoever urges the contrary, meditates a Commotion. *Iſti qui Imperium Senatui tribuunt, Reipublicæ interitum, ac ſtatus everſionem moliuntur.*

Bodin *de Rep.* lib. 2. cap. 5.

*De Repub.* lib. 1. cap. 8.

Li. 3. cap. 1. Ibid.

Page 51. *As to the point of* Loyalty *now in queſtion, the ſubverſion of the Fundamental Government of this Kingdom could not be effected, till thoſe Members of Parliament that were* Presbyterian *were many of them impriſoned, others forcibly ſecluded by the violence of the Army, and the reſt thereupon withdrew from the Houſe of Commons.*

*Obſervation.*

Then it ſeems till that Violence by the Army, upon the Presbyterians, there was none acted by the Presbyterians upon the King. *To ſeize his Towns and Magazines; Hunt, and Aſſault his Royal Perſon; Part his Revenues; Hang up his Friends*: All this is Juſtify'd, in

in Caſe his Majeſty refuſes to be rul'd by his Two Houſes. Alas, the *Fundamental Government* was ſafe, (I warrant ye) ſo long as the Rights of Soveraignty were exercis'd, firſt by the Aſſembly in *Scotland*, and then by a pack'd Party, in a Cloſe Committee: And the Presbyterians never the leſs honeſt men for ſelling the King firſt; Then voting him a Priſoner; and after that, for Pinching him even upon the very point of Presbytery. Surely they are much to blame that charge theſe Innocents with Diſloyalty.

If the *Presbyterian Members had not been Forced* (they ſay) *All had been well.* Truly it may be ſo; yet if I miſtake not, there was a time when the *Epiſcopal Members* were Forced too: and had that Violence been ſpared, it had never come to This. But I ſuppoſe, the *City-tumults* againſt BISHOPS: the Outcryes of the *Rabble* at *Whitehall*: the *Multitudes* that Bawl'd for *Reformation*: Poſting up ſuch and ſuch for *Straffordians*, as honeſtly oppoſed the Torrent of the People. This in the *Well-affected*, paſſes for *Chriſtian Liberty*.

But our *Divine Machiavel* follows his Opinion with a Proof.

*For they* (ſayes he) meaning the Presbyterians) *had voted the Kings Conceſsions a Ground ſufficient for the Houſes to proceed to ſettle the Nation, and were willing to caſt whatever they Contended for, upon a Legal Security.* Page 51.

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Waving their Former Vote of *Non-Addreſſes*, and that foul *Declaration* of their Reaſons for it: We will

ſhared betwixt the King and the two Houſes: and *Next*, that the late King did Actually invade the Popular Prerogative: from whence ariſes the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance; and after that, *Poteſt Rex etiam ſuam Imperii partem Belli jure amittere.* They have at laſt the ſame right to the Crown, they had at firſt to the Quarrell. He that peruſes the firſt eight Sections of the forementioned Chapter, will find *Grotius* no favourer of his opinions that quotes him. Be the Prince what he will, he tells us, *Summum Imperium tenentibus reſiſti jure non poſſe.* *Bodin* yet more expreſſely, that *England and Scotland are abſolute Monarchies.* That the *Supream Power* is only in the *King.* (*Jura Majeſtatis, ac Imperii ſummam, in unius Principis, Arbitrio verſari.* Further, *In Senatu nullum eſt Imperium*; Nor only ſo, but whoever urges the contrary, meditates a Commotion. *Iſti qui Imperium Senatui tribuunt, Reipublicæ interitum, ac ſtatus eveſionem moliuntur.*

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Waving their Former Vote of *Non-Addreſſes*, and that foul *Declaration* of their Reaſons for it: We will

in Charity believe, they were over-awd, and that it was extorted by the Army. But what excuſe for the matter of the *Propoſitions*? That they were Actuated by a *Presbyterian ſpirit*, appears in This, that they demanded Settlement of a *Presbyterian Government*. It remains now only from Hence to gather the Fair Equivalence, of this Gentleman's Doctrine, and to diſcover what 'tis the Presbyterian Faction calls a *Legal Security*.

*Presbyterian Poſitions.*

They hold, that if the King of *England* will not comply with the Two Houſes, the People may *Chaſe*, *Sequeſter*, and *Impriſon* him: and when they have him in Diſtreſſe, they may without Diſloyalty preſs him to theſe, or the like Conditions for his Liberty.

First, *By a Publick Act to juſtifie that Violence, and condemn himſelf.*

2ly. *To Renounce and Aboliſh Epiſcopacy, although bound by Oathe and Judgement to defend it.*

3ly. *To transferre the Right of Levying Men, and Monyes, to the Two Houſes; by them to be Raiſed and diſpoſed of at Pleaſure, without rendring any Accompt to his Majeſty.*

4ly. *To deliver up the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of all that ſerved him, to the Mercy of That Party.*

5ly. *To grant that all Offices of Truſt may be diſpoſed of by the Appointment of Both Houſes.*

This

This is a ſhort, and modeſt Accompt of *Presbyterian Loyalty*, the *Due Liberty* they contend for: which being ſetled upon a *Legal Security*, with ſuch further *Conceſſions*, as their Modeſty ſhall vouchſafe to require, puts an end to the Diſpute. His late Majeſty obſerves (*upon* Uxbridge *Treaty*) That *it was a grand Maxime with them, allwayes to ask ſomething, which in Reaſon, and Honour muſt be denyed, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted*] So we find it. But what's the Reaſon of this peeviſhneſs?

*Is there any thing in the Nature of* Prelacy *that frames the mind to obedience and loyalty? or is there any thing in Presbytery, that inclines to Rebellion and Diſobedience?* Page 52.

*Obſervation.*

Truly I think there is. Prelacy holds a better proportion in the Scale of Order, as a more Regular Subordination of Duties and Relations. Nature and Providence do not move by Leaps, but by Inſenſible and Soft Degrees, which give Stability and Beauty to the Univerſe. Is not the World compos'd of Diſagreements, Hot and Cold, Heavy and Light? —And yet we ſee thoſe Oppoſitions are by the means of middle, and Conciliating mixtures wrought into a Complyance? 'Tis the ſame Caſe in *Subject* and *Superiour*. *Higher* and *Lower*, betwixt *Toppe* and *Bottome*, are but as ſeveral Links of one Providential Chayne, where every Individual, by vertue of this mutual Dependency Contributes to the Peace, and Benefit of the Whole: ſome are Below *Mee*: and This ſweetens the Thought that I am below *Others*: *Prelacy a more orderly Conſtitution than Preſbytery.*

By which Libration are prevented thoſe Diſtempers which ariſe either from the Affectation of more Power, or the Shame of having none at all. As theſe *Degrees* of *Meane*, and *Noble*, are beyond doubt of Abſolute neceſſity, to Political Concord; ſo poſſibly the Cloſer the Remove, The better yet, as to the point of Social expedence, provided, that the Diſtances be ſuch as to avoid Confuſion, and preſerve Diſtinct Offices, and Powers from enterfering. Nor is this Gradual method only ſuited to Humane Intereſt, as being moſt accommodate to Publique Quiet, and to defend the Sacredneſs of Majeſty from Popular Diſtempers: but 'tis the very Rule which God himſelf Impoſes upon the whole Creation: *making of the ſame Lump, one Veſſell to Honour, and another to diſhonour.* Subjecting by the Law of his own Will, *This* to *That*: *That* to what's next *above* it: *Both* to a *further* Power, *All* to *Himſelf.* And here we Reſt: as at the Fountain of Authoritie. From *God*, *Kings* Reign; They appoint their *Subſtitutes*, and ſo on to inferiour Delegations; *All Powers derive from a Divine Original.*

Rom. 9. 21.

This Orderly Gradation, which we find in Prelacy muſt needs beget a Reverence to Authoritie; the Hierarchy it ſelf depending upon a Principle of Obedience, whereas our Utopian Presbyterie advances it ſelf upon a Level of Confuſion. It is a kinde of Negative Faction, united to diſſolve a laudable and ſetled frame of Government, that they may afterward ſet up they know not what. We may have learn'd thus much from late and ſad experience: let him that would know more of it, read *the Survey of pretended Holy Diſcipline.* I think it would be hard to ſhew one eminent Presbyterian, that ſtickles not for an Ariſtocracie

cracy in the *State*, as well as in the *Church*: and he that ſaid *No* Biſhop, *No* King, gave a ſhrewd judgement; not as implying a Princes abſolute dependence upon Biſhops, but in effect, the Kings Authority is wounded through the Church; the Reformation of what is amiſſe, belonging to the *Ruler*, not to the *People*. I do not yet condemn all *Presbyters*, nor juſtify all *Prelates*.

We are told, *that in antient times*, and for a *ſeries of many ages*, *the Kings of* England *have had tedious con-* Pa. 53. *flicts with Prelates, in their Dominions.*] 'Tis right, and the ſame cauſe is now eſpouſed by our more than Papal Presbyterians; to wit, Eccleſiaſtiaſtical Juriſdiction over the Civil Power. But we are further Queſtion'd.

*If* Presbytery *and Rebellion be connatural, how comes* Page 53. *it to paſſe, that thoſe States or Kingdomes where it hath been eſtabliſhed or tolerated, have for any time been free from broyls and commotions?*

*Obſervation.*

It is as true that thoſe places have been quieteſt, where Presbytery hath gain'd footing, as 'tis, *that* Ibid. *Presbyterians have never diſclaim'd, or abandon'd their lawful Prince: that they have never ceaſed to ſollicite, and ſupplicate his Regards, and Favour, even when their power hath been at the higheſt, and his ſunk loweſt.*

*Obſervation.*

This is ſomething which in good manners wants a name. How far the Presbyterians have *Abandon'd* their

their Prince, I ſhall not preſſe, but rather referre the Reader to examine how far, and in what manner they have *Sollicited* him. *(Cujus contrarium.)*

His late Majeſty, after forty Meſſages for *Peace*, and a *Perſonal Treaty*, finding himſelf moſt barbarouſly laid aſide; in a *Declaration from Carisbrook Caſtle*, Dated *Janu.* 18. 1647. Expoſtulates the matter in theſe Termes.

*Reliquiæ ſacræ Carolinæ.* Pag. 158.

*Now would I know, what it is that is deſired: Is it Peace? I have ſhewed the way (being both willing and deſirous to perform my part in it) which is, a juſt Compliance with all chief Intereſts; Is it plenty and happineſſe? they are the inſeparable effects of Peace; Is it* Security? *I, who wiſh that all men would forgive and forget like me, have offer'd the Militia for my time. Is it* Liberty of Conſcience? *He who wants it, is moſt ready to give it. Is it the right* Adminiſtration of Juſtice? *Officers of truſt are committed to the the choice of my two Houſes of Parliament, Is it* frequent Parliaments? *I have legally, fully concurr'd therewith. Is it the* Arriers of the Army? *Upon ſettlement, they will certainly be paid, with much eaſe; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impoſſibility in it.*

*Thus all the world cannot but ſee my real and unwearied endeavours for* Peace, *the which (by the grace of God) I ſhall neither repent me of, nor ever be ſlackened in: Notwithſtanding my paſt, preſent,*

*ſent, or future Sufferings; But, if I may not be heard, let every one judge, who it is that obſtructs, the Good I would do, or might do.*

Where the right lies, a *Presbyterian* may better *Determine*, than a *Royaliſt Queſtion.*

——*Magno ſe judice quiſq; tuetur.*

Here's the Teſtimony of a *Pedant* in Ballance againſt the Authority of a Prince.

He tells us by, and by, that *Prophaneneſſe, Intemperance, Revellings, Out rages, and filthy Lewdneſſe were not at any time in the memory of the preſent Age, held under more Reſtraint, than in the late diſtracted times, by means of a Practical Miniſtry.* Page 55.

*Obſervation.*

Theſe Generals ſpell nothing, and to name Particulars were not ſo candid; I could elſe make up *Scot* and *Peters*, at leaſt a ſcore, even out of the ſelect Tribe of the Reformers. (and theſe I think are not as yet Canonized for Saints.)

*'Tis no Prophaneſſe, (is it?) to play the Hocus Pocus in a Pulpit, with Rings, and Bodkins; to talk Treaſon by Inſpiration; and entitle the Holy Ghoſt to Murther and Rebellion. To appoint Mock faſts, and thank God for Victories he never gave them. To ſwear for, and againſt the King, in the ſame breath; to convert Churches into Stables, and for fear of Superſtition, to commit Sacriledge.*

*Nor is it Out-rage ſure, or Intemperance, to ſeize the Patrimony*

*trimony of the Church, the Kings Revenues; Pillage and Kill their Fellow-Subjects. To set up Ordinances against setled Lawes, and subject the Ten Commandements to the superiour Vote of a Committee. To justify Tumults against Authority, and suffer the most damnable Heresies to scape without reproof.* But what if there were Disorders; by whom were they Caused?

Page 59. *It is most unreasonable to object, that the late wild postures, extravagancies and incongruities in Government, were the work of* Presbytery *or* Presbyterians. *The Nation had never proof of* Presbytery, *for it was never setled, but rather decryed and exposed to prejudice by those that were in sway, and that in the more early times of the late Wars.*

*Observation.*

I must confesse indeed, that *Presbytery* was never setled, nor ever likely to be, so much did the whole Nation stomack it; But yet how this agrees with his former Reasoning, *Pag.* 29. I do not understand. ☞ There he pretends, that *by* long practice mens minds are fix'd in this opinion*: and that the party is *numerous*. Here he contents himself to acknowledge, that the Presbyterians lost their power early, and that they never recovered it since. This will not serve his turn, to acquit the Faction (so denominated) of our late Miseries. Our Soveraign (of blessed memory) brings the contest down, *to his surprizal at* Holmby, *and the Distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City, ensuing upon it. These* (saies that excellent Prince) *are but the strugglings of those Twinns, which lately one Womb enclosed, the Younger*

*er ſtriving to prevail againſt the Elder* what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves*] In fine; One finiſh'd what the Other began; for the King dyed at laſt, but of thoſe wounds which he at firſt received in his Authority. His Majeſty upon his leaving *Oxford*, and and going to the *Scots*, cleers this yet further: where he calls it, *Adventuring upon their Loyalty, who firſt began his Troubles.*] * Note.

*The truth of this matter* (ſaies he) *is cleared by a paſſage of our late Soveraign, in a Letter to his Majeſty that now is.* [*All the leſſer Factions were at firſt officious Servants to Presbytery their great Maſter, till time and Military Succeſſe diſcovering to each their particular advantages, invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church and State, but of Presbytery it ſelf.*—(It follows) * **which ſeem'd, & hoped at firſt to have engroſſed all.** Page 58. * Note.

*Obſervation.*

The laſt line is as true as any of the reſt; but all truths are not to be ſpoken. Indeed this Slip is ſomewhat with the groſſeſt. Not to trouble my ſelf with their formal Fopperies, of *Deacons*, *Elders*, and their *Pariſh-meetings*; Thoſe are but popular amuſements: We'll paſſe to what's more pertinent, and ſee how he

acquits his friends of joyning with the Independents.

Page 60. *The truth is, Sectarianiſm grew up in a Myſtery of Iniquity and State-policy, and it was not well diſcerned, till it became almoſt triumphant by Military ſucceſſes.*

*Obſervation.*

'Tis a ſtrange thing the Presbyterians ſhould not ſee what they themſelves contrived; what all others took notice of; and what the late King offer'd to prove [*In his Declaration of* Auguſt *the* 12th. 1642.] The Inſolence of Sectaries being not only wink'd at, but publiquely avow'd; and the Law thwarted to protect them. See what one ſaies, (no ſtranger to their Practices) to prove, and evidence the Combination.

*Exact Collections.* Page 531.

*Hiſtory of Independency.* Page 1. *The* Leading-men, *or* Grandees *firſt divided themſelves into two* Factions, *or* Juntoes, Presbyterians, and Independents: *ſeeming to look only at the* Church, *but they involv'd the Intereſts of the* Common-wealth. — Page 2. *Theſe having* ſeemingly divided themſelves, *and having* really divided the Houſes, *and captivated their Reſpective Parties judgement*; — *Teaching them by an implicite faith,* Jurare in verba Magiſtri, *To pin their opinions upon their ſleeves: they begin to advance their projects of monopolizing the profits, preferments, and power, of the Kingdom in themſelves. To which purpoſe, though the Leaders of each party ſeem to maintain a hot oppoſition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is obſerved that a powerful Independent eſpecially, moves for a leading Presbyterian, or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent: and ſeldom doth one oppoſe or ſpeak againſt another*

*another, in ſuch Caſes, unleſſe ſomewhat of particular Spleen or Competition come between: which cauſeth them to breake the Common rule. By this means the Grandees of each Faction, ſeldome miſſe their Marke, ſince an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his Reputation carries the Buſineſſe clear with the Independent party: and the Presbyterians will not oppoſe a Leading man of their own ſide.*

I find we are not like to Agree, for theſe people cannot ſee their own Faults, nor we their Vertues. I would take a good Journey to meet any man ſtiffe in that Way, that would but Confeſſe he was ever in any Errour.

*Of all the prejudices and ſcandalls taken againſt this way,* Page 63. *there is none greater than this, that it is repreſented as tyrannical and domineering, and that thoſe who live under it, muſt* (*like* Iſſachar) *crouch under the Burdens.*

*Obſervation.*

We do indeed accompt the Presbyterian Diſcipline very Tyrannical, and by and by wee'l give our Reaſons for it. Not *becauſe this Diſcipline cenſures Scandalous Diſorders,*] (as he inſinuates) but for that it ſubjects all Civil matters to a Conſiſtorian cognizance, and rapt by an Impulſe of Paſſion, calls many things *Scandalous*, which meaſured by the Rule of Pietie, and Reaſon, are found Praiſe-worthy, and of laudable Example. The uſage of the Common prayer-book, is to *Them*, *Scandalous*, though ſetled by the Law: but to eject a Miniſter for Reading it, though both Without Law, and Againſt it, That, *They* eſteem *no Scandal, We, the contrary.*

I have now brought the Gentleman to his firſt Stage, where I might very fairly leave him, for having already done my *Buſineſſe*: what I do more, is but for *Companie*. So far as I can judge, I have not ſcap'd one ſyllable material to his purpoſe: nor have I either Broken his Periods, or Unlink'd his Reaſonings, to puzzle, or avoid his meaning. How fairly I have dealt with what I have expoſed: whether in matter of *Fact*, *Deduction*, or *Good manners*, (the Subject of the Difference duly weighed) That I ſubmit to the Reader, and where the Reaſon lyes betwixt us.

I have indeed omitted a great part of the Debate, as not at all related to my Deſign, nor (to ſpeak freely) much to the point in Queſtion. His frequent and Rhetorical Raptures, extolling to the Heavens, the *Wiſedome* and *Sanctity* of the *Presbyterians*; (but above all, the *Legions* of the Saints) what does this florid Vanity ſignifie more than the putting of his own Name to a fair Picture, when yet, *for* ought *he proves*, and for ought *we diſcern*, there's not one Line betwixt them of Agreement. The contrary Courſe he takes with the *Prelatique partie*. They (forſooth) are *Net* ſo and ſo: and from his *Generalls*, There he is pleaſed to enter into *prohibited Particulars*, taxing in *ſpecial* manner the exceſſes of ſome of our Late Prelates: but without any inſtances of Good in the Other Partie, which does but ſpitefully and weakly imply, that *Biſhops* have more *Faults*, than Presbyterians have Virtues. It will not be now expected, that we that *differ* in the *Premiſes*, ſhould *agree* in the *Concluſion*. But for That wee'l take our Fortunes.

Page 65. *Upon the whole matter aforegoing, we firmly build this Poſition*,

That

*That the Presbyterian Party ought not in Justice or Reason of State to be rejected and depressed, but ought to be protected and encouraged.*

(This is but one Doctours Opinion; *we* think *otherwise*) *Nevertheless* (sayeshe) *there being a seeming complication in this business, and an other ample partie appearing in competition, a difficultie remains, and the matter falls into a further deliberation. And thereupon we are fallen upon the second main Enquiry.* Page 66.

II. Qu. *Whether the Presbyterian Party may be protected and encouraged, and the Episcopal not deserted or disobliged.*

*Observation.*

'Tis a particular Grace, that the *Bishops* Partie may yet be admitted into the Competition, and that the man of *the short Robe* will vouchsafe to Enquire into the *Consistence* of *Episcopacie* and *Presbyterie*: yet it was boldly ventur'd to Determine what *ought* to be done before he had examin'd, whether the Thing was *Fesible* or no.

I shall not spend my Time to Controvert *Ideas*, and wrangle about Governments in the Aire: we are for Plaine and Practicable Contrivements, such, as *Authoritie*, *Good Order*, and *Long experience* have recommended to us.

I suppose the agreeing of *Both Parties* in such *Middie*

*äle termes* as he propoſes, a thing not utterly Impoſſible. Many things may be fair enough in *Notion*, yet of exceeding hazzard to be put in *Practice*; eſpecially 'tis dangerous to try Tricks with Politique Conſtitutions. Great Alterations, are ſcarce ſafe, even where they are *Lawfull*, and wrought with *good Intention*: Much leſſe are thoſe ſo, which are promoted by a Diſorderly, and Popular Earneſtneſſe, and with *ſeditious meaning*. For This I dare lay down as a *Poſition*: *Never did any Private Partie hand againſt a Publick Settlement, with an Intent to mend it.*

But what have we to do with the Imaginarie *Coalition* of the two Church-parties; when the Kirk-Diſcipline affronts the Civil Sanction, and Actually invades the Kings Authoritie? Let them firſt bring their Principles to their Duties, Treating like Subjects, and ſubmitting as Chriſtians. Can any man believe thoſe People Friends to the Church, that are Enemies to the State? or that the God of Order can be pleaſed with the Promoters of Confuſion.

Were there no other Reaſon to deny the thing they aske, than their bare manner of Asking; it ought not to be Granted. What ſignifies their Talk of *Number, Power, Reſolution*, but a falſe muſter of the Faction, to make a Party with the Rabble? (when yet, God knows they're Inconſiderable: let every man but overlook his Neighbour, and Count, hee'l find the Diſproportion.) Undoubtedly the moſt Inſufferable of all their Arguments is that of *Danger*; there's but one ſtep between that Word and Violence. Firſt it implyes a Seditious Complication. They move for ſuch as they believe will Tumult: if not, where lyes the Hazzard? Beſide; Thoſe Subjects that dare tell their Prince, 'tis *dangerous* to deny their Askings,

do

do by that Insolence render his Concessions much more *hazzardous*. Persons of that Audacious temper, will hardly make a sober use of an extorted Bounty.

So far as *Presbyterian*, and *Episcopal*, purely refer to the *Church*, I shall not much concern my self in Our Resolvers *Second main Enquirie*: (Equal to all the World is the Incomparable *Hooker*, upon that Subject) but where these Terms are in a greater Latitude, applyed to Civil matters, I shall be bold to pass some further Observations.

*The Dissenting side oppose not all Liturgie, but desire that the present Form may be Changed, or Reformed.* Page 70.

*Observation.*

That's but a Modest Motion. But now suppose, his *Majesty*, the *Law*, and Forty for One of the Nation, should desire the Continuance of it as it is: what Equity have the Dissenters to the Change: or what would be the Benefit, if granted? Not the Tenth part even of the Presbyterians, would be contented with it. Some of them are against all set Formes of Common-Prayer whatever, Others (more moderate forsooth) do not oppose a *Prescript Form*, so it be not *enjoyn'd*. A Third sort, will vouchsafe to permit the *English Liturgie*, provided they may have the purging of it themselves, and when all's done, the Sectaries may claim as much right to *abolish* That, as they to *alter* This. And now for Ceremonies.

*They oppose not any circumstance of Decency and Order, but desire that mystical Ceremonies of Humane institution may be abolished or not injoyned.* Ibid.

*Observation*

*Obſervation.*

Firſt, the Diſſenters are not the Judges of *Decency* and *Order*; and for *Myſtical Ceremonies of humane inſtitution*; (as *Scaliger* ſays of the *Sepia*) *Caliginem effundit, & evadit*; he troubles the Water and eſcapes in the Dark.

Page 73. *Multiformity in Religion* (ſayes our Reconciler; pleading for Accomodation) *publickly profeſſed doth not well comport with the ſpirit of this Nation, which is free, eager, jealous, apt to animoſities and jealouſies, beſides that it hath ever had a ſtrong propenſion to Uniformitie.*

*Obſervation.*

Had this fallen from a Common pen, I could have better born the Diſproportion of his Character of the Engliſh Temper,— *Free*, *Eager*, *Jealous*, and yet propenſe to *Uniformity*. This ſeems to me a mixture Incompoſſible. But the good man means well, and writes ſo, when he liſts. His drift is, to perſwade us, that to comply with the *Presbyterie*, is to comport with the *ſpirit of this Nation*: which being *Free*, and *Eager*, ſeems to Cry, *Beware*. How bleſſedly would theſe *Free-ſpirited* Worthies order their Subjects, if they were once in Power, that thus preſume from their own Levell, to Menace, and Controll Authoritie!

If *Toleration* might compoſe the Difference, there were ſome hope, but That, alas, is more than they can afford the *Government*, and much leſſe will they Page 74. accept it for *themſelves*. *The temper of this Kingdome* (ſayes he) *does not well accord with extremes on either hand*; ] and to ſee the Fortune of it, the Presbyte-

rians

rians are just in the *Middle.*

*Toleration being not the Daughter of Amitie, but of* Page 74.
*Enmitie (at least) in some degree supposeth the Party tolerated to be a burden, especially if conceived dangerous to the way established, and commonly holds no longer than mere necessity compells; and consequently neither partie take themselves to be safe, the one alwaies fearing to lose its authority, and the other its liberty.*

*Observation.*

Behold a *learned* Expostulation, and a *Dutifull.* [*Where the party tolerated, appears dangerous to the way established: the One fears to lose its Authoritie, and the other its Liberty.*] There's no great depth in the discoverie that from an Opinion of *mutual Danger*, arises *mutuall Jealousie.* But what's this Case to the Subject of out Debate?

By Toleration, is not meant an Imprudential Yielding, to an Untractable, and Churlish Faction: but a Discreet, and Pious Application of Tenderness toward such as by their Fair comportment in the Mayn of Order, and Good manners, appear to merit it. True it is, God himself is the only Searcher of Hearts, who sees our Thoughts, even in the bed of their Conception. Yet where we find an Inconformity of Practise to Profession: People *that streyn at a Gnat, and swallow a Camell*, We may without offence to Charity rank those Incongruous Christians among *Hypocrites*: and with great Justice hold them to the Law, that strive to bring the Law down to their humours. By rhe same Rule ought we to judge in *Tolerati-on.*

favour of their Scruples, whoſe Lives are ſquar'd by a conform ſeverity and ſtrictneſs.

Page 76. It is moſt true that *ſuch Propoſals may ſuffice for Peace, which will not ſatisfie Humour and Faction, and Carnal Intereſt.* ] Why do we not apply our ſelves then to the onely Umpire of the Controverſie, the Setled Law, which, without either Paſſion or Deſign layes down our Duty, and our Intereſt? Theſe wranglings about Trifles do but enflame the Difference, and ſtart new Animoſities, inſtead of quieting the Old. The great pretence of Scandal ( forſooth ) is This.

Page 84. *The Presbyterians ſtick at Ceremonies properly ſacred, and ſignificant by humane inſtitution, which they conceive to be more then mere circumſtances, even parts of Worſhip; and whatſoever inſtituted worſhip is not ordained of God, they hold unlawfull.*

*Obſervation.*

This Paſſage lyes a little out of my Rode, but however, I'll make it my way. It is much eaſier to *call* our Ceremonies *ſacred*, and *parts of worſhip*, than to *prove* them ſo. Is the *manner* of Doing any thing, part of the thing done? And for [ *ſignificant by Humane Inſtitution* ] the Exception is as Frivolous. Becauſe that in *ſome* Caſes even of External Diſcipline, the Church is *limited*; does it therefore follow that it is *free* in none? or ty'd up onely to ſuch Rites, and Ceremonies, as hold no ſignal proportion with the Reaſon of their Inſtitution? This Argument cuts their own Throats, ſince by the ſignificancy of the *Sitting poſture* at the Communion, they maintain the Uſ

Use of it; for (say their *Admonitioners*) *It* BETOKENS *Rest, and full Accomplishment of Legal Ceremonies in Christ.*

*They that scruple our mystical significant Ceremonies,* Page 86. *conceive that they are properly and merely sacred; as having the honour of God for their direct and immediate end.*

*Observation.*

These Reasonings are but *Snares* for *Woodcocks.* *Significant Ceremonies not sacred.* That the *ultimate* end of all our Actions is, (or at least ought to be) *the Honour of God*, admits no Question; but 'tis not therefore the *Immediate end* of every thing we doe, nor in particular of *Ceremonies.* The Outward Formes and Rites of Publick Worship, direct partly to *Uniformitie* and *Order*; and partly to excite due *Reverence* and *Affection* in the discharge of holy Duties, by sensible Actions, and remarquable Circumstances. But he persues his Errour; and Instances,

*That the Surplice is not for gravity, nor merely for decent distinction, but a religious mystical habit, the character or badge of a Sacred Office, or Service conformable to the linnen Ephod under the Law.* Ibid.

*Observation.*

The grand Exception against the Surplice is matter of Scandal, and that amounts to nothing where People will be peevish, and carpe at every thing. Allow it what Original he pleases: If it be neither Unlawfull in it Selfe: nor wickedly applyed; and by Authoritie thought fit to be Imposed; why

should it not be uſed? What ſayes the Incomparable *Hooker*, in this point? [*To ſolemn actions of Royalty, and State, their ſuitable Ornaments are a Beauty; are they only in Religion a ſteyn?*] And in another place. *The names of our Monethes, and of our dayes, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what diſhonour unto God they are ſaid to have been deviſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectual to ſtirre hatred, than that which ſometimes the Antient Fathers in this caſe ſpake? Yet thoſe very names are at this day in uſe throughout Chriſtendome, without hurt or ſcandal to any. Clear and manifeſt it is, that things deviſed by Heretickes, yea, deviſed of a very Heretical purpoſe, even againſt Religion, and at their firſt deviſing worthy to have been withſtood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that cuſtome, the Inventers whereof were the* * Eunomian Heretickes. *So that Cuſtomes once eſtabliſhed, and confirmed by uſe, being preſently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original, to be held ſcandalous. But concerning thoſe Ceremonies, which they reckon for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to avouch that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted, than unto good; yea, ſo uſed at the firſt.*]

† *The ſigning with the ſign of the Croſſe (they conceive) is more evidently ſacred than the former. As Baptiſm conſecrates the Child, ſo doth the Croſſe. It is uſed as a ſealing ſign of our Obligation to Chriſt, as the word: uſed in the application thereof do manifeſt, and the book of Canons doth declare expreſſely, which ſaith* [That it is an honourable badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the ſervice of himthat dyed on the Croſſe, as by the words uſed in the book of Common Prayer it may appear.] *And therefore it is in that reſpect Sacramental.*

Eccleſiaſt. polity. lib. 5. Sect. 29.

Eccleſiaſt polity lib. 4. Sect. 12.

* The Eunomian Heretiques in diſhonor of the bleſſed Trinity, brought in the laying on of water but once, to croſſe the cuſtome of the Church, which in Baptiſme did it thrice,

† Pag 87.

*Obſervation*

*Observation.*

'Tis a well nurtur'd Child, that gives his Mother the Lye: and it is little better, To charge this ſenſe upon the Church of *England*, when by the very Letter of the Canon, an expreſſe care is taken to prevent all poſſibility of exception, by a clear explication of the Churches Judgement in that particular. The Juggle is ſo groſſe, I need but cite the Canon to confute it.

*First, The Church of* England *ſince the aboliſhing of Popery, hath ever held and taught, and ſo doth hold and teach ſtill, that the ſign of the Croſſe uſed in Baptiſm, is no part of the ſubſtance of that Sacrament; for when the Miniſter dipping the Infant in Water, or laying water upon the face of it (as the manner alſo is) hath pronounced theſe words: I* Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, *the Infant is fully, and perfectly Baptized. So as the ſign of the Croſſe being afterwards uſed, doth neither adde any thing to the vertue or perfection of Baptiſm; nor being omitted, doth detract any thing from the effect and ſubſtance of it.* Can. 30.

*Secondly, it is apparent in the Communion Book, that the Infant baptized, is by vertue of Baptiſm, before it be ſigned with the ſign of the Croſſe, received into the Congregation of Chriſts Flock, as a perfect Member thereof, and not by any power aſcribed unto the ſign of the Croſſe; ſo that for the very remembrance of the Croſſe, which is very precious to all them that rightly believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and in the other reſpects mentioned. The Church of* England *hath retained ſtill the ſign of it in Baptiſm, following therein the Primitive and Apoſtolical Churches, and accounting it a lawfull outward Ceremony, and honourable badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the ſervice of him that died upon the Croſſe, as by the words uſed in the Book of Common Prayer it may appear.*]

If this will not ſuffice, to prove that nothing *Sacramental* is intended by it, let it be noted, that in *Pri-*

*vate*

*vate Baptiſm the Croſſe is totally omitted.*

His next exception is at *Holy-dayes:* But I ſhall paſſe my bounds too far. I'll borrow one Maxime of the judicious *Hooker*, (upon that Subject) which ſhall ſerve for all. *Thoſe things which the Law of God leaveth arbitrary, and at liberty, are all ſubject unto poſitive Lawes of men: which Lawes for the common benefit, abridge particular mens liberty in ſuch things, as far as the rules of equity will ſuffer.*

Eccles polity. lib 5. Sect 71.

After the *Quality* of our Ceremonies, the holy man will have one fling at the *Number* of them.

Page 88. *If the* Engliſh *Ceremonies be warrantably uſed, what hinders the uſe of divers other Ceremonies uſed in the Romane Church? Is it ſaid their multitude will become burthenſome and inconvenient? But who can determine the convenient number? And however, an exchange of one Ceremony for another were not unlawfull. For what reaſon may not ſome other Romiſh rites in Baptiſm be uſed as well as the Croſſe, ſeeing they are nothing leſſe ſignificant or inoffenſive, nay peradventure much more inoffenſive, becauſe the Papiſts by giving divine worſhip to the Croſſe have abuſed it to groſſe Idolatry.*

*Obſervation.*

Beggars muſt be no chooſers: Muſt we uſe all, or none? The Engliſh Church hath made Election of the Engliſh Ceremonies; *What*, and how *many*: being the proper Judge both in the point of *Number*, and *Convenience*. 'Tis not for us to Queſtion the Authority, but to obey it, *What if the Croſſe hath been abuſed?* So hath the *Knee* been bent; the *Hands* and *Eyes* addreſſed to an Idol. Are we, becauſe of this miſapplication, prohibited to worſhip the true God, in

in the same manner, and posture? Now to the *Liturgy* again.

*The Presbyterians are not satisfied in the present Liturgy, but desire it may be laid aside, or much Reformed. And what solid reason withstands the Equity of this Desire?* Page 90.

*Observation.*

*This solid reason does withstand it.* They begge like sturdy Cripples, for *Christ's sake*, with a Cudgel. And 'tis not safe for *Authority* to give ground to a *Faction*.

*Whosoever observes Impartially, shall find that Political Prudence was joyned with Christian Piety in composing the English Service-book.*] Page 91.

*Observation.*

And the same *Prudence* is now joyn'd with the same *Piety*, both in the Right, and Interest of preserving it. His next grief is a heavy one.

*Canonical subscription lately impos'd, is a yoke of Bondage,* (Now marque him) *to be considered by all those that have a true regard to such Liberty in Religion, as equity and necessity pleads for.* Page 94.

*Observation.*

Either this passage is *seditious*, and to enflame the people against Authority, or I am no *Englishman*

*The Canon* (saies he) *requires a subscribing to the thirty nine Articles; to the Common Prayer Book; to the Book of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; that all these contain in them nothing contrary to the Word of God.* Page 95. Canon 36.

*This is* unreasonable, unprofitable, & unnecessary. Nay, let

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let

let us take in the third Article too. — To wit [*That the nine and thirty Articles are agreeable to the word of God.*] And now the Form of *subscription*, viz. [*I do willingly, and* ex animo, *subscribe to these three Articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.*

*Observation.*

This is *the Yoke of Bondage*, which our Reverend Libertine complains of. First, to the *unreasonableness* of this subscription.

Touching the *Kings Supremacy*, asserted in the first Article, he is silent; and I suppose he would be thought consenting. As to the rest, what *Reason* is there that any man should be admitted into the *Ministry*, without subscribing to the Constitution of that Church, into which he seeks admittance?

*Canonical subscription defended.*

If he cannot subscribe in *Conscience*, he cannot be admitted in *Prudence*: and if he refuses in point of Stomack, that man is not of a Gospel-temper. In fine, he that holds a fair opinion of the *Doctrine*, and *Discipline*, of the Church of *England*, may very *reasonably* set his hand to his opinion: and he that does not, may as *reasonably* be rejected because of such disagreements. So much for *unreasonable*; Neither is it *unprofitable:* for such as have any spark either of Honour, or Shame, will in regard to such a Testimony, be tender of giving themselves the Lye, whatever they would do otherwise.

His third Cavil is, that it is *unnecessary*; (so are his exceptions.) Let any man consider; when all these Barrs and Limits are too little to restrain turbulent and sacrilegious spirits from dangerous and irreverent attempts:

attempts: what Seas of *Schism* and *Heresy* would break in upon us, were but these Banks demolish'd. But he hath found out an expedient, how [*Unity in Doctrine, and Uniformity in Practice, may be as well attain'd, and far more kindly, without this enforced subscription:* (that is) *If no Minister be suffered to Preach, or Write any thing contrary to the established Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, nor ordinarily for the main to neglect the established Rule.*] Page 97.

*Observation.*

This last passage appears to me most spitefully pleasant. *Not ordinarily for the main* that is; *Alwayes sometimes he would neglect the established Rule.*

If the Lawes already in force against *Revolters*, had been duly executed, 'tis likely *the Interest of* England, *in the matter of Religion*, had not been now the Question. But still this supposition does not imply an absolute sufficiency of that strictnesse to all intents and purposes of Order, and Agreement. 'Tis what we *think*, not what we *say*; the Harmony of *Souls*, more than of *Forms*, which God regards: without that sacred, and entire consent of Judgement, and Affections, the rest is but a flat, and cold formality.

Not to Act contrary to prescribed Rules, (where we are bound up by a Penalty) is but a Negative, and Passive Obedience; a complyance rather with Convenience, than Duty, unlesse joyn'd with a prone, and full assent, both to the truth, and equity of those determinations. For this and many reasons more, *Canonical subscription* seems to me exceeding necessary. But for those people to decline it, (upon

pretence forsooth of Conscience) that upon peyn of Freedome, and estate, nay, and of Hell it self, enforced the *Covenant*, is most unequal.

*The late Kings Declaration concerning Scotland Pa 403.*

A Presbyterian Preacher, **refused to pray for Sir* William Nesbett, *late Provost of* Edenburgh, *when he was lying upon his Death-bed, onely because he had not subscribed the Covenant.* Let me be pardoned, if I understand not this incongruous Holyness.

Pa. 101.

*As for the Decrees and Canons of the Church, what rightfull Authoritie doth make them, as the Law of the* Medes *and* Persians *that altereth not?*

*Observation.*

Surely his Reverence over-shoots himself. *What rightfull Authority?* The Kings: and by a lesse Authoritie they cannot be discharged. By that *Authority*, that Licenses *x* the *Excommunication of the Impugners of the Rites and Ceremonies established in the Church of England*: —— the Opposers also of the *y* Government, by *Archbishops, Bishops, &c.* — By *that Authoritie*, to which this Gentleman hath forfeited the Head he wears. Well, but he tells us,

x *Canon* 6.

y *Canon* 7.

Page 97.

*The Publick state of these Differences is such, that the Prelatists may, and ought to descend to the Presbyterians, in the proposed moderate way; but the Presbyterians cannot come up to the Prelatists in the heighth of their way.*

*Observation.*

*With the Kings leave*, had been good Manners yet. By what Authoritie, does Presbytery pretend to unseat the Hierarchy? All the World knows, (as much as they know anie thing of that Antiquitie) that Bishops

ſhops are of Apoſtolical Extraction: and we are not to Imagine, that They died inteſtate, and their Commiſſion with them. But Biſhops have *deſcended* alreadie, and what was the event of it? Truly it was as moderate an Epiſcopacie as Heart could wiſh: But, as I remember, their Revenues were not employed to maintain a Practical Miniſtrie. The Rule is, —— *Si vis ſcire an velim, effice ut poſſim nolle.* But ſee the moderation of the Man.

*Some change* (he ſayes) *in the outward Form, and Ceremonies, which are but a Garbe, or Dreſſe, is no Real change of the Worſhip.* Pa. 103.

*Obſervation.*

I thought we had differ'd upon point of *Conſcience*, about* [*Ceremonies proper ſacred, —— and parts of Worſhip.*] But now it ſeemes 'tis but the *Garbe*, or *Dreſſe* we ſtick at. The good man has forgotten himſelf; And yet we had beſt be warie, for 'tis but an Untoward hint he gives us. * Pa. 84.

*Oftentimes* (ſayes he) *moderate Reformations do prevent Abolitions, and Extirpations.*] Pa. 103.

*Obſervation.*

They do ſo, often; and ſometimes they cauſe them: that is, Be the State never ſo diſtemper'd, where Subjects turn Reformers, the Remedie is worſe than the Diſeaſe. In fine, when I look back, I find the very ſame deſires of Reformation originally pretended; which (after ſuch deſcentions as never any Prince before the bleſſed Father of our Gracious Soveraign, made to his Subjects) proceeded yetto utter *extirpation, Root*, and *Branch*.

The preſent face of things looks ſo like Twenty years ago, I cannot chooſe but fear the ſame Deſign from the ſame Methode; the ſame Effects from the ſame Cauſes. *Is not that likely to be a bleſſed Reformation, where Faction dictates, and Tumults execute?* But our *Pacifique Moderator* is of another Temper ſure; he only adviſes a Yielding, for fear of worſe: eſpecially conſidering,

Pa. 111. *That the Party called Presbyterian may be Protected, and Encouraged, and the Epiſcopal not deſerted nor Diſobliged.* (which is his Reſolution upon *the Second Quære.*)

*Obſervation.*

Presbyterian Improvements, are Commonly a little *Siniſter*; (or as a man may ſay, *over the left Shoulder*) They have ſomething an odde way of making *a Glorious King, and a Happy People.* But we ſhall not diſpute the *Poſsibility* of doing many things which may be yet of dangerous Experiment. I do belive it poſſible for a man to *flye*; yet ſet him upon *Pauls*, and Lure him down, upon the Tryal, 'tis at leaſt Six to to Four he breaks his Neck. Truly in my Opinion this Propoſal is all out as Impracticable. But 'tis all one to Mee. What if the Two Church-Parties, can Agree, or what if they cannot. My buſineſſe is to keep the Presbyterian from laying Violent hands upon the *Civil Power*, and to convince a Partie ſo denominated, of *Sedition*, not of *Schiſme.*

His Third Enquirie follows.

Queſt

Qu. III. *Whether the upholding of both Parties* Pa. 111.
*by a juſt and equal Accomodation, be not in it ſelf more deſirable, and more agreeable to the State of* England, *than the abſolute exalting of one Party, and the total ſubverſion of the other?* (And thus he Reaſons.)

*That State of Prelacy which cannot ſtand without the ſubverſion of the Presbyterians, and that ſtands in oppoſition to regulated Epiſcopacie, will become a myſterie of a mere carnal and worldly ſtate, under a ſacred title and venerable name of our Mother the Church. For in ſuch oppoſition, of what will it be made up, but of Lordly revenue, dignitie, ſplendor, and juriſdiction, with outward eaſe and pleaſure? What will its deſign be from age to age, but to uphold and advance its own pomp and potency? Read the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, and you ſhall find the great buſineſſe of the Hierarchy hath been to conteſt with Princes and Nobles, and all ranks and degrees, about their Immunities, Priviledges, Pre-eminencies, to multiply Conſtitutions and Ceremonies for props to their own Greatneſſe, but not to promote the Spiritual Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the hearts of People, according to the life and power of Chriſtianity.*

*Obſervation.*

*Let this ſerve for a taſte of his Pedantique boldneſſe.* Whether the *Scandal*, or the *Danger* of theſe *Liberties* is the Greater, may be One Queſtion: and whether the Uſurper of this Freedom is the better *Subject*, or *Chriſtian*

*Christian*, may be another. If we respect the holy *Order* of *Bishops*, together with the sacred Authority of *Law*, by which they are here establish'd, how *scandalous* and irreverend is this Invective: Or if the unsettled humour of the people; how *Dangerous*! If we reflect either upon *Christian unity*, or *Political Obedience*: how inconsistent is this manner of proceeding with what we owe to God, and the King.

*That State of Prelacy, which cannot stand without the subversion of the Presbyterians, &c.*—'Tis very well;—And why the subversion of the Presbyterians? How those that never were *Up*, should be thown *Down*, I cannot imagine? By what *Law*, or by what *Equity*, do these people pretend to any Interest of Establishment in *England*? Those of the Presbyterian judgement, that out of a real tenderness cannot comply in all particulars, will beyond doubt receive from his Majesty such Favour, and Indulgence, as may abundantly suffice to their relief. But that pretence doth not one jot entitle them to challenge a further influence upon the Government. These wayward appetites and Cravings, are but the sickly Longings of a peevish Woman. A kind of voluntary and priviledg'd Conscience they have, which if it happens to take a fancy even to the *Crown*, *Monarchy* it self, must rather perish, than these poor Wretches lose their *Longing*. Soberly, I would advise them by any means, to wave these troublesome and groundless pretences: It starts a scurvy Question, and makes the people ask, *how they came by the right they challenge?*

*A voluntary Conscience.*

For the rest, Episcopacy is like to be well ordered, when the Presbyterians have the Regulation of it. There have been great contests (no question) mov'd by the *Hierarchy*; but I suppose this Gentleman will not

not instance in many, since the Reformation, derogatory to the Jurisdiction Royal: Whereas the whole Course of the Presbyterian Discipline hath been Tumultuous; and their avowed Principles are more destructive to Royaltie, than even the Rankest of the Jesuites themselves.

Having at length Talk'd his Fill against the Pomp of *Prelacie*; and Charged the arrogance of *Presbyters* upon the *Bishops*: Thus he Concludes,

*In very deed, the State here described, will never* Pa. 114. *stand safely among a People that are Free, Serious, Searching, and disseeming in matters of Religion.* ] Which to the Many sounds thus much.

*Observation.*

This is the Pride, and Tyrannie of Bishops: and none but a Slavish, and Besotted people will endure it. He that makes other of it, forces it. Having by the Spirit of Natural Divination foretold the effects which He himself intends to Cause; he gives this Hint to the Vulgar, That [ *a Hierarchy of this* Ibid. *Nature hath a strong bias toward Popery.* ]

*Observation.*

No doubt, and so had *Monarchy*. Was not this Imputation by the same Party, cast upon the late King, and with the same measure of Confidence, and Bitterness? when yet we know that those that charged him with it, did not believe themselves; it was so rank, and evident a Calumny. Not to insist upon the Dying Testimony of that Incomparable Prince, ( which was but suitable to the Pious Practise and

and Profeſſion of his whole Life) That early *Proteſtation of his Majeſties, before his receiving of the Holy Euchariſt at* Chriſt-Church *in* Oxon, 1643. will be more pertinent to my purpoſe.

Biblio-theca Regia, p. 58.

*His Majeſty being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Archbiſhop of* Armagh, *uſed theſe publick Expreſſions immediately before his receiving the bleſſed Elements: he roſe up from his Knees, and beckning to the Archbp: for a ſhort forbearance, made this Proteſtation.*

MY LORD,

His Majeſties Proteſtation.

I *eſpy here are many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the world the Reſolution I now doe make. I have to the Utmoſt of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver; and may I ſo receive Comfort by the Bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the Eſtabliſhment of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its Beauty in the happy dayes of* Queen Elizabeth, *without any Connivence at* Popery. *I bleſs God, that in the middeſt of theſe publick Diſtractions, I have ſtill Liberty to Communicate; and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my* Heart *do not joyn with my* Lips *in this* Proteſtation.

This was not yet enough to allay the clamour, til with his Royal blood he had ſeal'd this proteſtation. If the objecter can produce a fouler injury either to *Religion, Duty, Truth, Honour*, or *Humanity*, let it be done to ſave the credit of the Faction, unleſſe they reckon the ſuperlative

lative perfection of their wickedneſſe, a point of glory.

His next remarque is not amiſſe. [*Let it be well obſerv'd, that the deſignes of ſuppreſſing Puritans, and complying with Papiſts, had their beginning both at once, and proceeded in equal paces.* Pag. 115.

*Obſervation.*

Let it be here as well obſerv'd, that if by *Puritans* be meant thoſe of the ſeparation, by *Papiſts* is intended ſuch as kept their Stations: Theſe Squires of the *Revolt*, eſteeming as Antichriſtian, whatever ſtands in oppoſition to their heady purpoſes. We have this both from Story and experience, that it hath been the conſtant practice of theſe unmannerly *Apoſtates, to ſpeak evil of Dignities*; and being fall'n off themſelves, it is but carnal prudence, by damning of the *Authority* to juſtify the *Schiſm*. No wonder then *if the deſigns of ſuppreſſing Puritans, and complying with Papiſts, had* (in his ſenſe) *the ſame beginning, and proceeded in equal paces.*

To bring himſelf off, he ſhifts it thus. [*According to a vulgar ſenſe, we take Popery in the height thereof, for the* Hereſies *and* Idolatries; *and in the lower degree thereof, for the groſſe* Errours *and* Superſtitions *of the Church of* Rome] and 'tis againſt Engliſh Popery in the *lower degree*, that he plants his battery: arguing ſo formally againſt our going over to *Rome*, that any Stranger to the Story would ſwear. — The *Prelates* and the *Pope* were more than half agreed already. Pag. 116.

Having at length with great good-will adviſed the Church of *England* as to the Main, he concludes, that [*All approaches and motions towards* Rome *are dangerous.*] Pag. 120.

*Obſervation.*

But are not all receſſes from Truth, more dangerous? Becauſe in *every* thing we cannot agree with them, muſt we in *nothing*? To mee this appears rather Petulancy, than pious reaſon. We are to hold faſt the truth, wherever it lyes: and to embrace what's good, and laudable in any Church, without adhering to the contrary. Did not St. *Paul become all things to all men, that by all means he might gain ſome*?

Pag. 120. But *if we walk upon the Brink* (he tells us) *we may ſoon fall into the Pit*) Theſe wary men forget, that there's a *Gulfe* on the one hand, as well as a *Pit* on the other: and that the *narrow way* is that which leads to eternal happineſſe.

Ibid. *But as to Reaſon of State* (he ſaies that) *enmity with* Rome *hath been reputed the Stability of* England; *concerning which the Duke of* Rhoan *hath delivered this Maxime*; [*That beſides the Intereſt which the King of* England *hath common with all Princes, he hath yet one particular, which is, that he ought throughly to acquire the advancement of the Proteſtant Religion, even with as much zeal as the King of* Spain *appears Protector of the Catholick.*]

*Obſervation.*

*Engliſh & Scotch* Presbyterians no Proteſtants.

Allow this Maxime good in State, he hath but found a Rod to whip himſelf. *The King of* England *ought to advance the* Protestant *Religion.*] Content. What now if theſe Diſciplinarians prove no Proteſtants; but rather a *Schiſmatical*, and dividing Party, driving

driving an Intereſt of their own, under that ſpecious name, and with great ſhew of Holyneſſe, oppoſing not only the practices and Rules of the *Reformed Churches*, but even the fundamentals of *Chriſtianity* it ſelf? By whom will they be tryed, or on what Judgement, and Authority will they reſt? They Quarrel with the *Order* of *Biſhops*; the *Common-Prayer*; the *Rites*, and *Ceremonies* of the *Church*; the *Law* of the Land, with *Cuſtomes*, and *Antiquity*: In ſhort, with every thing but the *Geneva-Diſcipline*. They do by *That* too, as our Gallants do by *French faſhions*. The Court of *France* being the Standard of queint *Mode* and *Dreſſe*, to the *one*, as is *Geneva* of *Church order* to the *other*: What is *there* uſed, though in it ſelf extravagant enough, our humour is to over-do; and if the French wear but wide *Breeches*, we forſooth muſt wear *Petticoats*. Conſult the learned, and moſt eminent Aſſertours of their *Diſcipline*; ask the grand Architect himſelf, or indeed, any of his *Sectatours*, (of fair and honourable credit) concerning the Subject of our preſent Controverſie. And

I. *Whether it be a* Protestant *Opinion, that the* Hierarchy *is* Antichristian?

II. *Whether ſuch Lawes of Humane Inſtitution, as neither contradict the* general Lawes of Nature, nor any Poſitive Law in Scripture, be binding or no?

III. *In caſe of Male-Adminiſtration, either in Church, or State: Whether the People may take upon them to Reform?* But this they are not ſo ſtiffe in, as to maintaine it, but by blind inferences not worth regard.

This is the ſtate of our diſpute; and if in theſe particulars our *Anti-Prelatiſts* oppoſe the current of Reformed Divines: to advance their Intereſt, is to undermine the common Intereſt of the *King*, *Nation* & the *Proteſtant* Cauſe. Needs muſt it move many *Revolts*, and keep off many *Proſelites*, to ſee ſuch principles declared of the Eſſence of *Chriſtian Religion*, as a good honeſt *Pagan* would be aſhamed of. Nor leſſe repugnant are they to Rules of *Society*, than of *Conſcience*; *No Tyranny ſo cruel, and Imperious; no Slavery ſo reproachful.* Set up their *Diſcipline*, and we're at *School* again. Methinks I ſee a *Presbyter* with his *Rod* over every *Pariſh*; and the whole Nation turning up their Tails to a pack of *Pedants*. Yet hateful as it is, *even that* it ſelf, eſtabliſh'd by Authority, might challenge our Obedience.

I have digreſs'd too far; yet in convenient place, I muſt ſay ſomething further upon this Subject.

If our new fangled *Politician* had conſider'd, that the *Kings* Intereſt leads him to ſupport, that which the *Presbyterians* ſtrive to *overthrow*, (the Proteſtant Religion) I am perſwaded he would have ſpared the Duke of *Rhoan* in this particular. The *Maxime* even as it lies before us, affording matter of dangerous deduction to his diſadvantage: but taken in *Coherence*, nothing can be more ſharp and poſitive againſt him.

That great and wiſe Captain the Duke of *Rhoan* diſcourſing upon what reaſons of State, Queen *Elizabeth* acted toward *Spain*, *France*, and the united *Provinces*; tells us particularly, how much ſhe favoured the *Proteſtants* in *France*, and *Germany*. [*Par toutes ces maximes*, (dit il) *cette ſage Princeſſe a bien fait comprendre, à ſes ſucceſſeurs, que outre l' intereſt que l' Angleterre a commun avec tous les Princes &c.* ——

L' Intereſt des Princes Diſcours. 3.

By

By all these Maximes (saies he) this wise Princesse hath given her Successours to understand, that besides the Interest which *England* hath *common* with other Princes yet one *particular* it hath, which is to advance the Protestant Religion with the same zeal, the King of *Spain* does the Catholick.

Be it here noted, that when the Queen was most concern'd, and busy to promote the Protestant Cause, even at that very time was She as much employ'd to crush the *Presbyterian* Faction, *viz. Cartwright*, *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, *Hacket*, and their Confederates. The *First* of these was imprison'd, and fined for Seditious, and Schismatical practices against the *Church* and *State*. The *Second* starved himself in a Gaol; The *Third* repented, and publiquely recanted; The *Fourth* was put to death for horrid Blasphemies. (These people talk'd of a practical Ministry too.) — The *Men* are gone, but their *Positions* are still in being, and only attend a blessed opportunity to be put in execution. This may appear from diverse late discourses, which are effectually no other than *Cartwrights Principles*, and *Model*, couch'd in warier termes, and other Authority than these, or such as these, I think the very Authors of them will scarce pretend to. *Puritan-Protestants.*

One Observation more. Our *Paraphrast* renders *the advancement of the Protestant Religion*, — Enmity *with* Rome, to the great scandal of the Reform'd Profession. We have no *Enmity* but with *Errour*, which in a rigid *Puritan*, to us, is the same thing as in a *Papist*.

But *Popery* (he tells us) *hath been ever infamous for excommunicating, murthering, and deposing Princes.*] Pag. 128.

*Observation.*

*Observation.*

I am no Advocate for the *Romane* Cauſe, but upon this account, I think betwixt the *Jeſuite*, and the *Puritan*, it may be a drawn battle. And yet he follows, with an aſſurance that *the Proteſtant Religion aims at no-*
Pag. 121. *thing, but that the Kings Prerogative, and popular Liberty, may be even Ballanced.*] (That is, the *Puritan*,—the *Presbyterian* Religion, as he explains himſelf a little lower.)

*Observation.*

I cannot call to mind one ſingle paſſage in this whole Diſcourſe, concerning the *Kings Power*, or the *Peoples Liberty*; which is not either worded Doubtfully, or with ſome popular Limitation upon the Royal Authority. What does he mean by *even Ballanced? Check by Foul?* Or by what warrant from the Word of God, does a Presbyters Religion intermeddle with Popular Liberty? Unleſſe the holy man intends to bring *Homage* to *Kings*, within the compaſſe of *Ceremonies of Humane, and Myſtical Inſtitution.* Yet once again.

Pag. 122. *The Presbyterians Principle* (he ſaies) *is for ſubjection to Princes, though they were Heretiques, or Infidels; and if they differ herein from the Prelatical Proteſtants,* (I was afraid we had been all Papiſts) it is only *that they plead for Liberty, ſetled by known Lawes, and Fundamental Conſtitutions.*]

*Observation.*

*Observation.*

Still *ad Populum?* these are the Incantations which have bewitch'd this Nation. This Charm of *qualify'd Disloyalty*, and *Conditional Obedience.* Behold the very Soul of the Faction in these five lines; a fair profession first to his *Majesty*, and with the same breath a seditious hint to the *people.* What is that Liberty he talks of, but a more colourable title to a Tumult? that Legal Freedom, to which both by the Royal Bounty, and our own Birth-right we stand entituled, we ought not to contest for with our Soveraign, and (God be prais'd) we need not. Now for another fit of kindnesse.

*His Majesty our Native King, may govern as he pleases, without fear of Hazzards,* by continuing to shew himself a common Father.] P. 123.

*Observation.*

What's this Clause akin to the third Article of the Covenant? *To preserve and defend the Kings Majesties Person, and Authority,* in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms,] (as who should say, if he does otherwise, let him look to himself.)

*The excessive dominion of the Hierarchy, with the rigorous imposition of humane Ceremonies, was accounted much of the malady of former times, which ended in those deadly Convulsions of Church and State.* Ibid.

*Observation.*

*Obſervation.*

Since this Pragmatical Levite will provoke a Controverſie, I am content to entertain it.

If the Biſhops exceſſes were the Cauſe of the War, how came the Kings ruine to be the end of it? But 'tis no new thing for a Presbyterian to ſaddle the wrong Horſe. Juſt in this manner did the Covenanters treat his late Majeſtie: and *by thoſe very Troopes that cry'd downe Biſhops was the King murther'd.* Ridiculous Brutes, to boggle at a Surplice, and yet run head-long into a Rebellion.

The grand ſouce of our Miſeries was the *Covenant*, by which, as by a Spell (in the Name of the bleſſed Trinitie) the people were inſenſibly bewitched into an aptneſs to work any Wickedneſs which the Interpreters of that Oracle ſhould ſay was the Intendment of it.

The firſt notorious Rupture was in *Scotland*, in 1637. uſher'd in by a COVENANT, which without Queſtion was formally agreed upon by the confederate Faction of both Kingdoms, as the moſt proper, and leaſt-hazzardous way of taſting the Kings Patience, and the Peoples humours. That their Deſign was laid, and carryed on by Counſels, and Intelligence, as aforeſaid, may be collected from the Conſequent, and Brotherly Agreements: and truly the Retroſpect of the Act of *Indemnitie* ſeems to hint no leſſe, for it commences from the firſt Scotiſh Broyles, tho' four or five years before the War broke out in *England*; what was begun by *Covenant*, was ſo proſecuted.

By vertue of the Covenant, the Kirk-party ſupply'd themſelves with Men and Monies: Armies were brought

brought into the Field; aad beyond doubt, many that truly loved the King, not knowing what they did, engaged againſt him. To keep up this Deluſion, the Preſſe and Pulpit did their parts, and to deal freely, after this advance, I ſhould as much have wondred if they had ſtop'd ſhort of his Death, as I find Others wondering how they durſt accompliſh it. Death with a *Bullet* or an *Axe*, is the ſame *Miſchief* to him that ſuffers it: & the ſame *Crime*; wilfully done, in thoſe that *Act* it. No man can Rationally *allow One*, and *condemn* the *Other*: For, if the Violence be Lawfull; why not as well as in the Field, upon a Scaffold?

In this particular, the Doctor is beſide his Cuſhion. He makes me think of the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle*, upon a ſawcy Clergy-man. Why ſhould I remember that hee's a Prieſt, (ſayes my Lord) if he forgets it himſelf? His next argument againſt *Prelacy* is a Modeſt, and (as I take it,) a queynt One.

*Can the ſelf ſame State*, (ſayes he) *and Frame of Ec-* Pag. 124.
*cleſiaſticks be now revived after ſo great and long conti-*
*nued alterations, by which the Anti-prelatical party is*
*exceedingly increaſed and ſtrengthened*?

Surely this Gentleman has a mind to give his Brother *Crofton* a Viſit. Cannot *Prelacie* be better *Reſtored* after a *Diſcontinuance*, than *Presbyterie erected*, where it never had a *Beeing*. The very Laws are yet to make for the One, and ſtill in force for the Other. But the great Obſtacle is, *the Anti-prelatical party is exceedingly encreaſed, and ſtrengthened.*] Truly I think, if his Majeſty ſhould leſſen the Number of them, by two or three of the Promoters of that Doctrine, the Preſident might do ſome good upon the reſt. Can any thing be more ſeditious? Theſe hints upon fair grounds and given in *Private*, might very well become

the gravity of a Church-man, or the Profession of a Loyal Subject. But to the *People*, these Calculations are Dictates of Sedition; and onely meant to engage the Credulous, and heady Multitude in false Opinions both of the Tyrannie of Prelates, and their own Power.

Thus far in *Observation* upon the first Part of *The Interest of England, in the matter of Religion*, &c.—— *The whole structure whereof* (in his own words) *rests upon these Positions, as its adaequate Foundation.*

1. *That whilest the two fornamed Parties remain divided, both the Protestant* Religion, *and the Kingdom of* England *is divided against it self.*

2. *That the* Presbyterians *cannot be rooted out, nor their Interest swallowed up, whilest the State of* England *remaineth Protestant.*

3. *That their subversion, if it be possible to be accomplished, will be very pernicious to the Protestant* Religion, *and the Kingdom of* England.

4. *That the Coalition of both Parties into one may be effected by an equal accommodation, without repugnancy to their conscientious* Principles *on either side, in so much that nothing justifiable by* Religion *or sound* Reason *can put a Bar to this desirable Union.*

The

The *whole matter* (in Debate, he tells us) rests upon Three main Enquiries.

I Qu. *Whether in Justice or Reason of State the* Presbyterian *Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Incouraged.* Pa. 17. part 1.

II. Qu. *Whether the* Presbyterian *Party may be Protected and Incouraged, and the Episcopal not Deserted nor Dis-obliged.*

III. Qu. *Whether the Upholding of both* Parties *by a just and equal accommodation be not in it self more desirable and more agreeable to the State of* England, *than the absolute Exalting of the one Party, and the total Subversion of the other.*

I shall now offer some further Reasonings of my Own; upon this Subject; therein proposing such *Brevity* and *Clearness*; that both the Lazy, and the Busie may find time to read it, and the Weakest not want Capacity to understand it.

His *first Position* holds no further good, then as the *Presbyterians* are first *Protestants* in the matter of the *Difference*, and then *Considerable* in the ballance of the *Nation*. *Religion* led the Quarrel, so let it the Dispute. In using the Word *Protestant*, I follow Custome, for I had rather call it *Catholique*: but *Protestant* let it be.

I suppose by the Protestant Religion, we understand

That of the Reformed Churches: to whose Decision we shall willingly submit the summe of our Disagreements: which may be stated under a Reduction to these Two Questions.

I Qu. *Whether or no the Government of the Church by* Archbishops *and* Bishops —— *be* Antichristian, *or* Unlawfull?

II. *Whether such Lawes of Humane and Significant Institution, as are orderly made and neither contradict the General Lawes of* Nature, *nor any positive Law in* Scripture, — *be Binding or not?*

First, concerning the *Prelacy*: *Luther* himself distinguishes betwixt *Popish Tyrants*, and *True Bishops*: professing his Quarrel to them as *Popish*, not as *Bishops*.

*Apol: Confess: per Pap: pag: 137.* The Authors of the *Augustane Confession*, leave it upon Record, *That they would willingly preserve the Ecclesiastical and Canonical Polity, if the Bishops would cease to Tyrannize over their Churches.*]

*De reform: adver: Eccles: pag: 95.* *Bucer* advises by all means *the restoring of such Ecclesiastical Governments as the Canons prescribe,* (Episcopis & Metropolitanis) *to* Bishops *and* Metropolitans. Melancthon *to* Luther, — *You would not imagine* (sayes he) *how some people are nettled to see Church-polity restored: as if it were the Romish Soveraignty again.*] Ita de Regno suo, non de Evangelio, dimicant socii nostri.

*Calvin* himself recommends the *Hierarchy* to the King of *Poland*: and treating concerning the Primitive Church

Church, sayes *that the Antient Government by Archbishops and Bishops, and the* Nicene *Constitution of Patriarchs, was for Orders-sake, and Good Government.* [ad Disciplinæ conservationem pertinebat.]

The same person being called to accompt by Cardinal *Sadolet* concerning the *Geneva* defection, and for subscribing the *Augustan Confession*, renders this Answer. *Cursed be such as oppose that* Hierarchy, *which submits it self to Christ Jesus.* [Nullo non *Anathemate* dignos censeo, quotquot illi *Hierarchiæ*, qui se *Domino Jesu* submittit, subjici nolunt.

*Zanchi* (the Compiler of the Gallican Confession) observes a Change of *Name*, rather than of *Office* throughout most of the *German* Churches. *Bishops* and *Archbishops* being onely disguised under the Notion of *Superintendents*, and *General-Superintendents*: acknowledging, *that by the consent of Histories, Councils, and the antient Fathers, those Orders have been generally Allow'd of by all Christian Societies.*

*Beza*, (the rigid Successour of *Calvin*,) being check'd by the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, for intermedling beyond his spheare, —— *We do not charge* (sayes he) *all* Archbishops *and Bishops with Tyranny.* —— —— *The Church of* England *hath afforded many Learned men, and many Glorious Martyrs of that Function. If that Authority be there still in Being may a perpetual Blessing go along with it.* [Fruatur sane ista singulari Dei beneficentia, quæ utinam illi sit perpetua.] This with all Ceremonie was addressed, ——*Totius Angliæ* Primati: *to the* Primate *of all* England, *and in the Name of the whole Church of* Geneva.

*Saravia* makes him speak yet plainer; who arguing for the *Hierarchy* out of the Apostles Canons, receives

ceives from *Beza* this Reply. *This is no more than what we wish might be restored to all* Churches. [*Quid aliud hic statuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis Ecclesiis restitutum cupimus?*]

Bez. cont. Sarav. p. 116.

*Zanchi* comes up to the very Case of *England*; (nay and a little further too) not only affirming *Episcopacy to be agreeable to the word of God.* But where it is in exercise, that it ought to continue, and where by violence it hath been aboliſh'd that it ought to be restored. [**Ubi vigent* (Isti ordines scil.) *non esse Abolendos, & ubicunque Iniquitas temporum eos abolevit, Restituendos.*]

* Note.

With what Face now shall the *Enemies* of *Bishops* call themselves *Protestants*, in this particular at least, wherein they evidently crosse the whole stream of Protestant Divines? Now to the *second Quære.*

*Whether such Lawes of Humane, and significant Institution, as are orderly made, and neither contradict the general Lawes of Nature, nor any Positive Law in Scripture, be binding or not?*

Hear *Calvin* first. [*Quamvis quod obtruditur scandalum afferat, quia tamen verbo Dei per se non repugnat concedi potest.*] *Scandals Taken*, without Repugnancy to the Word of God, are not sufficient to invalidate the obligation of a *Ceremony* imposed by the Church. *Beza* himself, nay, Mr. *Cartwright*, the Captain of our blessed Legions, will allow, rather than quit a *Benefice*, to wear a Surplice.

Calvin Epist. Rag. 341.

Bucer *thanks God with all his Soul to see the English* Ceremonies *so pure*, and conform to the Word of God, or at least, (rightly understood) not contrary to it.

Script. Anglicana 455.

Not

Not to hunt further for particular Authorities, I shall be bold with my own Brother, and make use of some general Collections which he hath gathered ready to my hand. H. L. S. His Affinity of sacred Liturgies pag. 27.

*Nothing assuredly can be more demonstrative of the* Protestant *Tenents, than the confession of their several Churches.*

*That of* Helvetia *first,* [*Churches have always used their Liberty in Rites, as being things indifferent, which we also do at this day.*] *That of* Bohemia; [*humane traditions, and Ceremonies brought in by a good custom, are with an uniforme consent to be retained in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of Christian people, at the common service of God*] *the* Gallican; [*Every place may have their peculiar constitutions, as it shall seem convenient for them.*] *the* Belgick; [*We receive those Laws as are fit, either to cherish or maintain concord, or to keep us in the obedience of God.*] *that of* Ausburg; [*Ecclesiastical Rites which are ordained by mans Authority, and tend to quietnesse and good order in the Church, are to be observed.*] *that of* Saxony; [*for order sake, there must be some decent and seemly Ceremonies.*] *that of* Sweveland; [*such traditions of men as agree with the Scriptures, and were ordained for good manners, and the profit of men, are worthily to be accounted, rather of God than of man.*] *these were the tenents they publiquely owned, nor did they act different from what they taught, ordaining* Churches, *Pulpits, Prayers before and after Sermon, administring the Sacraments in Churches, delivering the Communion in the forenoones to Women, Baptizing Infants, and several other things, not one whereof were directly commanded by either Christ, or his Apostles.* Cap. 27. Cap. 15. Act 32. Act 32. Act 15. Act 20. Cap. 14.

From hence 'tis manifest, we may divide from Presbyterians, and yet *the Protestant* Religion not be divided

*ded against it self.* A *Schism* there is, but whether in the *Church*, or in the *Faction*, is only a dispute for those that plead the *Authority of Tumults.* As their opinions are not one jot *Protestant*, where they divide from *Bishops*; so neither are their *morals* any more warrantable wherein they act as *Men.* Which shall we credit, *Words*, or *Deeds*? Will they not *Bite*, where they pretend to *Kisse*? A famous *Martyr* of that Party, (*Hacket*) served a fellow so. Some difference there had been, and they were to be made friends. *Hacket* pretends a Reconcilement; takes the man in in his Armes, bites off his Nose, and swallowes it. This is that *Hacket*, that was joyned with *Coppinger*, and *Arthington*, in a plot to murther the Lords in the *Star-Chamber*, because they had committed *Cartwright*, (the great *Rabbi* of the Party) whose Crime was only the erecting of the *Presbytery* without, and against the Queens Authority. Thus we see, *That in Queen* Elizabeths *dayes too, the Protestant Religion was divided against it self.* Briefly, that it is not *Religion* which moves these people, is most apparent, from their unquiet, and distempered Actings; proceed we now to enquire what it is, or in plain termes, to unmasque the Holy Cheat, and shew it bare-fac'd to the people.

Of all Impressions, those of Religion are the deepest; and of all errours, the most to be lamented, and indulged, are those of tender and mis-guided Consciences. The clearnesse of this Principle considered, it is no wonder that the fouleſt designes, put on the greatest shews of holyness, as the only way to gain and rule Affections, without which no great matters can be accomplish'd. This is a truth wel known to the *Presbyterians*, and of experiment as antient as their Discipline.

W

We do not undertake to read their *Hearts*, but their *Writings* we may venture upon; enquire a little into their *Practices*, and by comparing both, give some tolerable gueſſe at their *Intentions*. The readieſt way is to look back, and match them, for the beſt proſpect of the future is behind us.

*The riſe of Presbytery.*

Some grumblings toward the Conſiſtorian Diſcipline, there were in the dayes of *Edward* the *6th.* but the firſt notorious Separation, was that of *Frankford*, (in the Reign of Queen *Mary*) when *Gilby*, *Goodman*, and *Whittingham*, with their Companions, flew off, and went to *Geneva*, from whence they returned into *England*, ſoon after Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown. *Theſe* led the Dance in *England*; *Knox* in *Scotland*, and at this day our *Presbyterians* do but write after their Copy: profeſſing the ſame *Principles*; pretending the ſame *Scruples*, and beyond doubt propoſing the ſame *End*; which was to get the ſame Dominion here, which *Calvin* and *Beza* exerciſed at *Geneva*: to whom they ſtill repair'd for Counſel as they needed.

*Cartwright* and *Travers* came in the breech of thoſe, but not without conſulting *Beza* firſt, to learn the knack of the *Geneva Model*. Theſe were the men that firſt brought into *England* that horrible poſition, that the *Geneva Diſcipline* was as eſſential a note of the Church, as either *the true preaching of the Word*, or *the due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*. This is the Principle which ſupports the Presbyterian Intereſt.

*The Proceſſe of Presbytery.*

For the firſt thirteen years of the Queens Reign, they contented themſelves to throw about their Libels, againſt Ceremonies, and divide into *Conventicles*.

In the *14th.* of Her Majeſty, they addreſſed two

*Admonitions* to the *Parliament*; the former in the quality of a *Remonſtrance* with a Plat-form; the other, bolder, and more peremptory. This Parliament was no ſooner Diſſolved, but they fell preſently to work upon their *Diſcipline*; the Progreſſe whereof, is with great exactneſſe ſet down in the 3*d*. *Book of* Bancrofts *dangerous Poſitions*.

Dangerous Poſitions Page 43. *In* 1572. *A Presbytery was erected at* Wandeſworth *in* Surrey, *at which time they had alſo their Conventicles in* London, *where little was debated, but againſt ſubſcription, the Attire, and Book of Common Prayer.*

Dangerous Poſ. page 44. *In* 82. *A meeting was appointed of* 60 *Miniſters, out of* Eſſex, Cambridge-Shire, *and* Norfolk, *at* Cockfield; *to conferre about the Common-Prayer, —— what might be tolerated.*]

Dangerous Poſ. Page 45. *In* 83 *The Form of Diſcipline was compiled, and Decrees made touching the practiſe of it, which ſoon after were put in execution.*]

Dangerous Poſ. page 75. *In* 87. The Diſcipline was received, *and put in practiſe in* Northamptonſhire.]

Page 86. *In* 88. *A Claſſical Aſſembly at* Coventry.]

Page 89. *In* 89. *A general meeting in* Cambridge, *and another at* Ipſwich.]

Page 91. *In* 1590. *Upon the detection of the Premiſes, they refuſed to anſwer upon Oath.*]

Dangerous Poſ pag. 120. Pa. 125. *Being thus Aſſociated, they appropriate to their* Meetings *the name of the* Church, *and uſe the ſtile.* [The Offices of Lord Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, &c. (ſaies *Martin Junior*) are condemned by the Doctrine of the Church of *England.*]

By theſe degrees the Schiſmaticks advanced to a dangerous height, and Boldneſſe; *and of this Temper, and Extraction are our Presbyterians.*

After the aforementioned diſcoverie a ſtricter eye

and

and hand was kept upon them; divers of the Ringleaders were imprisoned, and the Covy broken.

Upon the comming in of King *James*, they began to stir again; but he knew them too well, either to Trust, or Suffer them.

How they behaved themselves towards the late King, is to the eternal Infamy, not onely of the Faction, but of the Nation, too notorious: what they design toward the present Government, That's the Question: And now I come to enquire.——

## *Whether in Justice or Reason of State the* Presbyterian *Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Incouraged.*

Before I fall upon the Question, once again I explain my self. By *PRESBYTERIAN*, I intend a *Faction*, that under Colour of setling a Reform'd *DISCIPLINE*, seeks to dissolve the frame of an establisht *Government*. And first I am to prove that Party so distinguish'd, such a *Faction*, which both from their own *Practises*, *Positions*, and from Common Observation, and Authoritie, I think I shall make good; and that their last ayme is to exercise that Tyranny themselves, which they pretend to punish.

*Presbyters Doct. concerning Kings.*

Wee'll first examine how they treat the Civil Power,

*If Princes be Tyrants against God and his Truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Obedience.* Knox to Engl. and Scotl. fol. 78.

*Kings, Princes, and Governours have their Authoritie of the People, and upon Occasion, the People may take it away again.* Gilby Obedience, p. 25.

*Ministers ought not to obey the Prince when he prescribes* Register, p. 48.

*ſcribes Ceremonies, and a Faſhion of Apparel.*

Goodman, pa. 144. *Evil Princes ought by the Law of God to be depoſed.*

Spotswood Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 330. Andrew Melvil *being cited to anſwer for Treaſon delivered in a Sermon, declined the judgement of the King, affirming*, That what was ſpoken in Pulpit, ought firſt to be tryed and judged by the Presbytery; and that neither the King nor Counſel might *in primaria ſtantia*, meddle therewith, although the Speeches were Treaſonable. ]

Scots Plea, pa. 262. *Strike the Baſilique veyn; nothing but this will cure the Pluriſie of our State.*

Kings Declaration concerning Scotland, p. 404. *Let us never give over, till we have the King in our Power, and then he ſhall ſee how good Subjects we are. ( Delivered in a Sermon. )*

Ibid. pa. 409. *It is lawfull for Subjects to make a Covenant, and Combination without the King.*

But to come nearer Home, to ſhew that the whole Gang is of the ſame Leaven. Worſe than all this was daily printed againſt the late King, even by thoſe Perſons that were in pay to the *Presbyterian* Faction: and yet at laſt, thoſe out-rages are juſtified againſt the *Father*, by ſuch as would be thought Loyal to the *Sonne.*

*If Parliaments think to eſcape better they are deceived.*

Bancroft, pa. 169. *If the Brethren cannot obtain their will by ſuite, nor diſpute, the Multitude, and People muſt do the Feate.*

Kings Declaration, fol. 404. One preached, *That though there were never ſo many Acts of Parliament againſt the Covenant, yet it ought to be maintain'd againſt them all.*

Ibid. 409. *The Parliament can make no Law at all concerning the Church, but only ratifie what the Church decrees: and after it hath ratified it, yet if the Aſſembly of the Church ſhall prohibite it, and repeal that Decree of the Church, all the Subjects are diſcharged from yielding Obedience to that Act of Parliament.*

*An.*

*An Assembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament, if they any way reflect uponbusiness of the Church.* Ibid. 411.

*Reformation of Religion belongs to the Commonaltie.* Knox.

*Of the* Parliament *in the 24. year of the Queen* (sayes the Supplication) *if the desired Reformation be not granted.* ] There shall not be a man of their seed that shall prosper, be a Parliament man, or bear rule in *England* any more.

Concerning *Lawes established*; They *Fall* in Consequence with the Power that makes them.

*Presbyterians Opinion of Bishops.*

Let us see now with what modesty they treat the *Church*, and first the *Bishops*.

*They are Ordinances of the Devil.* —*Proud, Popish, presumptuous, prophane, paltry, pestilent, pernicious Prelates, and Usurpers.* —*Robbers, Wolves, Simoniacks, Persecutors, Sowers of Sedition, Dragons,* (and so to the end of the Chapter.) Bancroft pag. 59.

*Their Clergy an Antichristian, Swinish Rabble,* —— *The* Ministers *are neither proved, elected, called, nor ordained according to Gods word.* Ibid. pa. 58.

*The Ceremonies* — *Carnal, Beggerly, Antichristian Pompes.*

*Presbyterian Reformation.*

Hitherto, the *Faults* of Governours, and Government, now their Proposals of *Amendment*, and *Reformation*; by what *Rules*, and by what *Means* we may be Governed *Better*. *Thus then.*

*Let the whole Government of the Church be committed to Ministers, Elders and Deacons.* Admon. 1.

Very good; and to whom the Government of the State?

Why

Why to *Them* too. *For the Church wherein any Magistrate*, King *or* Emperour *is a member, is divided into some that are to* Govern : *viz. Pastors, Doctors, and Elders : and into such as are to obey*, viz. *Magistrates of all sorts, and the People.* ]

Cartwright,

The Question is next, about the Extent of the *Ecclesiastical* Power, and in what manner That Assumption hooks in all Civil actions within their Cognisance ?

*In Ordine ad Spiritualia*, Forsooth : by which rule nothing scapes them.

Holy Discipline, pa. 260.

'Tis the desire of the *Admonitour* ; *that he and his Companions may be deliver'd by Act of Parliament, from the Authority of the Civil Magistrates : as Justices and others, and from their Inditings, and Finings.* ]

Ibid 284.

*The* Eldership *shall suffer no lewd customes to remain in their Parishes, either Games, or otherwise.* ] And further;

Ibid.

*the Office of the Church Governours, is to decide Controversies in Doctrine, and Manners,* so far as pertaineth *to Conscience, and the Church censures.* ]

Ib. 285.

*Every Fault* (sayes *Cartwright*) *that tendeth either to the Hurt of a mans neighbour, or to the hinderance of the Glory of God, is to be examin'd and dealt in by the Orders of the holy Church.* ] Nay *Knox* goes further yet.

The bare *Suspition of Avarice, or of Pride, Superfluity, or Riotousnesse in* Chear *or Rayment.* ] —Even this Nicety, Falls within their Censure.

Now would I know what need of a *Civil Magistrate*, when even our private thoughts are subjected to the Scrutiny of a *Presbytery* ?

But will some say, what signifies the intemperance of Particular tongues, as to the General of the Party. I am challenged by the Author of the *Interest of England*, to produce their *Actions* : and *That's* my next Immediate Business.

The

The Presbyter has now the Chair, see how he manages his Greatnesse. None of that Tyranny ye found in *Bishops*, I warrant ye: no *groaning* now under the Yoke of *AntiChrist*; the intolerable burthen of *Canonical subscription*; *the Imposition of Ceremonies properly sacred*; *the Injunction of the Crosse in Baptism*; *and that abominable* Idol *the Common Prayer.*

Some *words* perhaps may slip unwarily, that might have been as well let alone; but alas good people, they mean no harm. *Suppose that some of this way were guilty of some provoking forwardnesse, should grave Patriotes, and wise Counsellours thereupon destroy the weak Party, or rather heal it?* 'Tis indeed possible, that in the heat of a Reforming and Spiritual zeal, they may have let fall Speeches of holy Indignation against the Opposers of the *LORDS ORDINANCE*. But have they shewed their disaffection either to **King* or *Parliament, by any thing discernable in their outward behaviour*: have they controlled the *Law* of the Land, or the just *Liberty* of the People?

Inter. of Engl. Part. 2. p. 81.

*By which term they difference their Classical Approbation from Episcopal Ordination.* Inter. of Engl. Part. 2. p. 57.

If they have *not* done all this, there's a great failing both in our Stories, and our Memories. I know 'twill be objected, they *Petitioned*, and in a supplicant, and humble way, suitable to the duty of good Subjects. They did *Petition*; and in this manner. —— (about the 27 of the *Queen.*)

*May it please Your Majesty*, &c. —— *That it may be Enacted*, &c. —— *That the* Book *hereunto annexed.* &c. *Intituled, a Book of the form of Common Prayers, Administration of Sacraments*, &c. —— *And every thing therein contained, may be from henceforth authorized, put in ure, and practised throughout all Your Majesties Dominions.*

*The Reformers way of Petitioning.*

Herein they presse upon the Nation their *own Form*, which

which would not yet allow of any *Other*.

Holy Discipline. p. 200. *What they could not get eſtabliſhed by Law, they ſettle yet by Practice, and privately agree upon a general endeavour to encreaſe the Party.*] But ſay they ſhould be oppoſed?

Bancrofts dangerous Poſit. pag. 83. Why then, have a fling at *Evil Counſellours.* [*If Her Majeſty give ear to ſuch Counſellours, She may have cauſe one day to lament.*] Then they *Remonſtrate, how*

Ibid. p. 56. *miſerably poor men have been handled*;] *That Godly Miniſters have been brought before the Barrs of Juſtice*;]

Ibid. p. 57. *and that if this Perſecution be not provided for, it is the Caſe of many a thouſand in* England: *great troubles will come of it.*]

Inter of Engl. p 29 *This numerous Party will not vary from it ſelf*, &c. ——*The minds of men are fix'd in this Opinion, and are*

Ibid. *not like to be reduced to the practice of former times,*] Well

Bancroft pag. 138. ſaid I. C. yet. *Thouſands* (ſayes another) *do ſigh for*

Ibid. 11. 140. *this Diſcipline; and ten thouſands have ſought it.*] *We do proteſt unto Your Majeſty,* (ſay the Supplicatours) *that we will be no longer ſubject unto the* Biſhops *unlawful, and uſurped Authority*, &c.] —— And another. [*The truth will prevail,* (ſpeaking of the Diſcipline) *in ſpight of your teeth,* (meaning the Biſhops) *and all other Adverſaries of it.*]

In the late Kings *Declaration*, *concerning the Tu-*

Inter. of Engl. p. 53. *mults in Scotland*: this way of Petitioning is very frequent: and this is that my friend hints, in ſaying, *that the Presbyterians have never ceaſed to ſollicite, and ſupplicate*, &c.] But *Words* draw no *Blood.*

'Tis true, but ſuch as theſe come very near it.

We *Phanſy* firſt, defects in Government; *Then* we *diſcourſe* them; after *That*, we *propoſe* a Reformation, which, if rejected, we proceed to *preſſe* it: the *next* ſtep is a *Threat*, and *then* a *Blow.*

Where

Where there are failings in Authority, 'tis not for private Persons to take publique notice of them. Whoever does *that*, would *strike* if he *durst*. This is not meant of every slip, in common discourse, either of *Heat*, or *Inadvertency*; (yet *that* is very ill too) but of *deliberate* Affronts; such as proceed from a form'd *Habit* of Irreverence: and in that Case, I think 'twere no hard measure, if he that sets his hand to the Kings dishonour, should lose his Head for't.

Take it at worst. Put case a Prince *Mis-governs*; yet we are sure, that his *Superiour* does not; and that respect we cannot pay to his *failings*, we must allow to his *Commission*. From *Words* proceed we now to *Actions*.

*Presbyterian Practices toward their*

# SOVERAIGN.

THE *Presbyterian* is no sooner in the Saddle, but (in the name of *Reformation*) how the man Gallops! *Kings*, *Parliaments*, *Lawes*, and *Liberties*, *Oathes*, and *Covenants* are but as feathers in his way.

I shall not clog this Section with many Instances. The trayterous actings of the *Conventicle* at *Glasgow*, in 1638: the horrid outrages that usher'd it, and the most deplorable consequences that ensued upon it, contein enough to brand that Faction to eternity.

I shall the rather fix *there*, because it brings the Case home; and first, in regard that the *Schismatiques*

of both Nations acted by the same tye of Oath, and Interest. Next, as it is the Model, they have made the people swear they would be damn'd by. Some of their many Insolencies are these.

Positions of the Conventicle at *Glasgow* An. 1638.

I. *The Assembly is Independent either, from King or Parliament, in Matters Ecclesiastical.*

II. *It is lawful for Subjects to Covenant and combine without the King, and to enter into a Bond of mutual defence against him.*

III. *An Assembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament, and discharge their fellow-Subjects from obedience to them, if they any way reflect upon the business of the Church.*

IIII. *They deny the Kings right of Calling or Dissolving Assemblies, and they continue to Sit and Act, notwithstanding his Majesties expresse Order for their Dissolution.* (See the Kings Declaration.)

These Rebellious proceedings are yet darkened by the transcending usurpations that followed them. But here I am bounded; This onely I may say;

*Whoever has a mind to run the extremities of another War, and to see another King murther'd, let him give his Vote for Presbytery.* And here let every man look behind him, and lay his finger on his Mouth.

As the *Geneva* Discipline is injurious to *Kings*, and stated *Lawes*, so it is most ridiculously tyrannous to the *People*. *A great uproar arising in* Edenburgh, *about the making of a* Robbin-hood, *they of the Consistory, did excommunicate the whole Multitude*] 'Tis a strange tenderness possesses these Saints. *One of them being to Christen a Child, brake off in the middle of the Action, because he would not call it* Richard.]

Presbyte-tyrannous to the People. Bancroft p. 20. Ibid. p. 105.

I suppose no man knew this kind of Cattel better than

than King *James*. *I was perſecuted* (ſaies that learned Prince) by Puritans, *not from my Birth onely, but even ſince four Months before my Birth.*] And to Prince *Henry* thus,

Presbyters perſecutors of King *James*.

King *James* his works; Pag. 305.

*Take heed to ſuch Puritans, very Peſtes in the Church & Common-weal, whom no deſerts can oblige, neither Oaths or Promiſes bind, breathing nothing but Sedition, and Calumnies, aſpiring without meaſure, railing without reaſon, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the Word) the ſquare of their Conſcience. I proteſt before the great God, and ſince I am here as upon my Teſtament, it is no place for me to lye in, that ye ſhall never find with any Highlands, or Border-theeves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with theſe* **Phanatique** *ſpirits.* And I think every man may ſay as much that hath but known them.

Ibid. p. 160.

The Antiquity of *Phanatiques*.

We are at length by Gods great mercy, delivered from thoſe Evangelical Impoſtors, and after all our wandrings brought once again into the Channel. We have our *Prince*, our *Lawes*, our *Freedomes*, our Intereſt lies before us, and certainly we cannot be ſo mad, as now to daſh a ſecond time upon the ſame Rock: *Yet they ſhall loſe nothing for want of offering at it.*

The Arguments of 1641. are ſet on foot again: The very ſame with *Cartwrights*, (that *Conſiſtorian Patriarch* as *Bancroft* terms him) nay, they are advanced already beyond *pleading* of their Cauſe, to *preſſing* of it, by ſawcy Importunities, and peremptory threatnings.

From what I have deliver'd, it cannot be deny'd but their Positions are Destructive to all *Civil Government*: And for their Practices, the Story is written in Blood.

This might suffice to end the Controversie concerning *Reason of State*, for certainly a Faction so Principled, cannot with safety to the Publique be Incorporated into any Politique Constitution. But I shall adde some further Reasons, why by no means they are to be admitted.

Reasons against Coalition.

1. *They're a Party never to be gain'd by* Obligations: *and this is manifest from their proceedings toward the late King, whose most unhappy Tenderness of Nature cost him his Life. And at this instant, that irreclaimable ingratitude iss yet more clear toward his Majestie in being: whose unexampled Mercy, so much as lies in them, is converted to his* Dishonour, *and* Destruction.

2ly. *They ground their claim upon the Equity of their Cause, which if allow'd, by the same Reason they may serve this King as they did his Father.*

3ly. *Their Demands are* Endless, *as well as* Groundless, *and it is not Prudential to grant any thing to a Faction that will be satisfied with nothing. It is but* Giving *them a Power to* Take *the Rest.*

4ly. *They* Expostulate, *and what they get upon those Terms, they look upon rather as a* Submission, *then a* Concession. *The very manner of their Addresse has a spice of* Mutiny *in it, and they will hardly make an honest use, of what they compasse by dishonest means.*

5ly. *It is not advisable to encourage Tumultuary combinations by Rewarding them.*

6ly. *The Dispute is not so much what their* Consciences *will* Beare, *as what their* Importunities *can* Obtein:

tein: *and to feele the Pulse of the Supreme Authority.*

*In fine, it is a conteſt betwixt the* Law *and a* Faction, *and a fair ſtep toward a New Rebellion.*

So much for *Reaſon of State.*

Now to the *Juſtice* of their pretences. The Quære is,

*Whether in Juſtice or Reaſon of State the* Preſbyterian *Party ſhould be Rejected and Depreſſed, or Protected and Incouraged.*

'Tis one thing what the *King* may *doe* in point of *Juſtice*, and another thing what the *Presbyterians* may *demand* upon that ſcore.

There is a *Juſtice* of *Conſcience*, *Honour*, and of *Prudence.*

By the *Firſt*: His Majeſty is ty'd up in common with the meaneſt of his Subjects. That is, if the King find himſelf in Conſcience bound to maintain Epiſcopacy in the ſtate he found it, (Legally ſettled) he is not free to alter it. *Juſtice of Conſcience*

In point of *Honour*: There's more Liberty, and what ever the King does in that Particular, is well done. But his Majeſty not having as yet declar'd himſelf; what do we know, how far even upon That Poynt he may concern himſelf to reject the Presbyterians Demands: Partly out of *Reverence* to his Royal *Father*; In part, out of a Princely ſtrictneſs to his own *Dignity*: and Partly out of a Generous tenderneſſe toward his Ruin'd Party. *Juſtice of Honour.*

Firſt, as to what may ſeem relating to his Majeſties *Father.* That

That which theſe people urge, is what the late King choſe rather to Dye, than Grant: which in His Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ is intimated in theſe words.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ pag. 239. *In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Lawes, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the teſtimony of my own Conſcience, the troublers of my Kingdomes, having nothing to object againſt me but this, that I prefer Religion, and Lawes eſtabliſhed, before theſe alterations they propounded.*

Every word hath its weight, which fell from the Pen of that pious and judicious Prince. Nor can I overpaſſe a caution of his learned Fathers; when I conſider the ſumme of their propoſals, which in effect is but a condemnation of the late *King*, in the bold, needleſſe juſtification of *Themſelves*. Theſe are the words.

King Ja. his works. P. 157. *As for offences againſt your own perſon and authority, ſince the fault concerneth your ſelf, I remit to your own choice to puniſh or pardon therein, as your heart ſerveth you, and according to the circumſtances of the turn, and the quality of the Committer.*

*Here would I alſo like another Crime to be unpardonable, if I ſhould not be thought partial: But the fatherly love I bear you, will make me break the bounds of ſhame, in opening it unto you. It is then, the falſe and unreverent writing, or ſpeaking of malicious men againſt your Parents and Predeceſſours.*] And a little further.

*It is a thing monſtrous to ſee a Man love the Child, and hate the Parents: as on the other part, the infaming and making odious of the Parents, is the ready way to bring the Son into contempt. And for*

*concluſion*

*concluſion of this point, I may alſo alleadge my own experience: for beſides the judgements of God, that with my eyes I have ſeen fall upon all them that were chief Traitours to my Parents, I may juſtly affirm, I never found yet a conſtant biding by me in all my ſtraits, by any that were of perfect age in my Parents dayes, but only by ſuch as conſtantly bode by them; I mean, ſpecially by them, that ſerved the Queen my Mother; for ſo that I diſcharge my Conſcience to you, my Son, in revealing to you the truth, I care not what any Traitour, or Treaſon-allower, think of it.*

Thus far his Majeſty may find himſelf concern'd in *Honour* to his Fathers Aſhes, now to his dying *Counſels.*

*Take heed of abetting any factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your judgement, and the Church well ſetled.* The Late Kings Counſels. Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ p. 235.

*I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, that it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the pertu bation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publick Intereſt, and the good of the Community.* Ibid. p. 239.

What in effect do theſe people now deſire, but that his Majeſty would rather take their Counſel, than his Fathers? In the next Page, the King expreſſes a more than ordinary earneſtneſſe, in theſe words.

*My Counſel and Charge to you is, that you ſeriouſly conſider, the former real or objected miſcari-* Ibid. p. 240.

*ages,*

*ages, which might occaſion my troubles, that you may avoid them.*

Herein, his Majeſty is tacitly conjured againſt them; it being a moſt notorious Certainty, That the Late King loſt both his Crown, and Life, by Over-granting. The now-pretended cauſe of the Quarrel, was not mentioned till after the War was begun. The colour of raiſing an Army, being to fetch in Delinquents.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, p. 62. *After which,* (ſayes his Majeſty) *among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged: the Abolition of Epiſcopal, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.*

As to that poynt of *Imperial Honour*, wherein his Majeſty may poſſibly concern himſelf more immediately. It is a high exceſſe of Goodneſs to make his Favours *Common*, where they are look'd upon ſo *Cheap*. (as *here*; Witneſs theſe daily new Tranſgreſſions ſince his moſt Gracious Pardon.) [*Some men* (ſays the

Ibid. pa. 169. late King) *have that height, as to interprete all fair Condeſcendings, as Arguments of Feebleneſs, and glory moſt in an unflexible Stiffneſſe, when they ſee Others moſt ſupple, and inclinable to them.*]

There remains yet a *third* Queſtion under this Head of *Honour*; that is; *How far his Majeſties* Generoſity *may extend it ſelf, in Favour, and Protection of thoſe Perſons that have ſerv'd him, through all extremities, till they have nothing left them beyond the hopes of honourable Epitaphs.*

These people have *Conſciences* too; a ſenſe of *Duty* & *Religion*. They reverence the *Epiſcopal Order*, and *That*, which through the ſides of *Biſhops*, was equally wounded

The Order of *Kings*. At laſt, thoſe that *ſubverted* the Former, and *uſurped* the Latter, demand (I think in reparation of their hazards) a *Presbyterian Government*. In that Particular, our Duty teaches us not to direct our Maſter: only we take ſober Freedom to anſwer our Accuſers; and to profeſſe to all the World, that thoſe who fought *For King*, and *Biſhops*, were in our Opinion as honeſt Men at leaſt as they that fought *againſt them*.

To his Majeſties *honourable* Conſideration, I think in this point we may claim a Right. We have ſuffer'd *for*, and *with* his Royal *Father*, and *Himſelf*, and the main Juſtice of the Cauſe, betwixt the King and thoſe that ſerv'd him, is the ſame thing: ſo that whoever ſtrikes at *Us*, wounds our *Soveraign*.

Laſtly, There is a *Iuſtice* of *Prudence*, wherein a man may frame a thouſand reaſons againſt the *Encouraging* of the *Presbyterians*: not ſpeculative, and ayry Notions, but deadly cloſe, and pinching *Reaſons*, grounded upon weighty *Authority*, and a never-failing courſe of long *experience* (Yet not to dictate to his Majeſty, to whoſe Will, we ſubmit our Reaſonings.

*Firſt*, if their *Deſires* were Modeſt, the *manner* yet of promoting them, is too rude and poſitive; they *Preach*, and *Print* their Grievances, which is the way rather to ſtir a *Faction*, than allay a *Scruple*. *Lord*, (ſayes Mr. *Manton*) *give us the Libertie of the Goſpel, before we go hence and be no more ſeen.*] As if *Epiſcopacy*, were *Paganiſme*. 'Tis dangerous to *grant more*, to thoſe that *take* too *much*. How do I reverence the Divine Spirit of his late Majeſtie!

*The great Miſcariage I think is, that popular Clamours and fury had been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick ſence; ſo that the Study to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.* Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, p. 182.

Ibid. p. 236. And again, *Take such a Course as may either with calmnesse and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences, by impartialitie, or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction; for if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courteſie, you are undone: the Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of Loyalty, Juſtice, or Humanity, than from thoſe who ingage into religious Rebellion: their Intereſt is alwaies made Gods, under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not only with greateſt ſecuritie, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may hear from them* Jacobs *voyce, but you ſhall feel they have* Eſaus *hands.*

To what I have ſaid, I ſhall be bold to adde a *Juſtice* of *Proportion*; and thereupon Two Queſtions.

1. Why ſhould the *Presbyterians*; a *Small, Irregular partie*, pretend to give the Law to the *Supreme Authoritie*, the *eſtabliſhed Conſtitution*; and incomparably the *greater* Part of the Nation?

2. Why ſhould thoſe People, that with a more than Barbarous rigour preſs'd the Covenant: *ejecting, ſequeſtring, impriſoning* ſuch as refuſed to take it, and without Mercy, or Diſtinction: —Thoſe that in Publick barr'd *Non Covenanters* the Holy Communion in expreſſe terms with *Adulterers*, *Slanderers*, and *Blaſphemers*, affirming in the Pulpit, *that all the Non-Subſcribers to the Covenant were Atheiſts.*—— Why ſhould (I ſay) thoſe people that with ſo unlimited a Tyranny impoſed upon the Nation a Rebellious League; to the Engagement of their *Souls* in *taking* it; their *Liberties* and Fortunes in Refuſing: —I ſay yet once again; why ſhould thoſe People now at laſt demand an intereſt in that Government, which Root and Branch they have laboured to extirpate: or with what

The late Kings Declaration concerning *Scotland.* p. 404. Ibid.

what Face can they pretend a Right to an *Authoritie*; where but by Mercy they have none to *Life*? (I ſpeak of theſe late Libellers, and their Abettours.)

Let me be underſtood likewiſe by *Presbyterians* to intend thoſe of the *Scotiſh* race, to whom we are beholden for our *diſcipline*. That Faction firſt advanced it ſelf by Popular *Tumult* and *Rebellion*. *Knox* learned the trick on't at *Geneva*, and brought it into *Scotland*; Wee had our Agents too, that did as much for us, theſe Fellowes conferr'd Notes, ſet the Wheel going, and we were never perfectly quiet ſince.

*Upon the whole matter afore-going*, (in the Gentlemans own words) *we firmly build this Poſition*,

*That the Presbyterian party ought not, either in Juſtice or Reaſon of State, in any wiſe to be Encouraged, but rather Rejected; Neither ought they to be Protected in any Inconformity to the Law, but rather totally Depreſſed.*

His ſecond Quære is ſoon diſpatch'd, *viz.*

II. Qu. *Whether the* Presbyterian *Party may be Protected and Incouraged, and the Epiſcopal not Deſerted nor Diſ-obliged.*

Firſt, many things are *Poſſible*, which are neither *Juſt* nor *Rational*; and therefore it matters not much to allow it the *One*, if I prove it not to be the *Other*. Imagine ſuch a Contemperation of *Epiſcopal*, and *Preſbyterian* pretences as might atone their preſent Diſagreements, yet where's the *King*? The Intereſt that's *principal* in the *Concern*, is not ſo much as named in the *Queſtion*. The Quarrel was about the *Militia*, not *Lawnſleeves*, and the *Royal* Party is to be taken in, as well as the *Epiſcopal*.

The truth of it is; This Gentleman does not find it convenient at preſent to move an utter Extirpation of Biſhops: but he propoſes That, which granted, would moſt infallibly produce it. A *Conſociation* forſooth, that for the better credit of the Project, ſhall be called a *Regulated Epiſcopacie*, which in good honeſt Engliſh is next Door to a *Tyranical Presbyterie*. In fine, *The Epiſcopal Authority is Deſerted and Diſobliged by the admittance of a Presbyterian Competition.*

Yet pardon me, I have found a way to Reconcile them, *Make but theſe ſquabling* Presbyterians, Biſhops, *and the Work's done*: as *Presbyters* they are *Encouraged*, and (I dare ſay) not *diſobliged*, as *Biſhops*. The plague of it is, there's neither *Juſtice* nor *Reaſon of State* for't, and ſo we are where we were again.

We ſhall make ſhort work too with his Third Queſtion: for in effect it ſpells juſt nothing.

III. Qu. *Whether the upholding of both parties by a juſt and equal accomodation be not in it ſelf more deſirable and more agreeable to the ſtate of* England, *than the abſolute exalting of the one Partie, and the total ſubverſion of the other.*

I muſt needs take notice here of two *Miſtakes*, the one in *propriety* of language, *viz. the* Upholding *of both Parties*. One of thoſe Parties is not *up*, and cannot be *upheld*. The other, ſhifts the *Queſtion*, and ſtates the difference betwixt the EXALTATION *of the one*, and the SUBVERSION *of the other*, when all that we deſire is but to keep both where they were, without *advancing* or *depreſſing* either.

If they have any Title to the Intereſt they challenge,

lenge, the ſame had *Cromwel* to the *Crown*. This Queſtion muſt be better ſtated before we think it worth an Anſwer.

*One Reflexion now upon the whole.*

Here's *Exaltation*, — and *Subverſion*; — but not a ſyllable of *Toleration*: and what's the reaſon of all this? They are affraid that would be granted, and how ſhould they do then to pick a Quarrel! Their way is never to be ſatisfy'd in *Conſcience*, with what the King can give in *Honour*, and *Reaſon*. ( His ſacred Majeſties Obſervation ) *A grand Maxime with them was alwayes to ask ſomething, which in Reaſon and Honour muſt be denyed, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting peace at as high a rate as the worſt effects of war.*] Eik. Bas. p. 170.

I have cited this already, but every line drawn by that hand deſerves to be repeated.

To this, there is another end, that's common to the Gang, which is, to draw an *odium* upon one Party, and a *compaſſion* toward the other. And other end than this do I ſee none at all, in his *Abſolute Exalting*, —and *total ſubverſion*. We covet no Change, but deſire the contrary. How little ſoever it may appear to *our* purpoſe, 'tis very much to *theirs*, to have the people underſtand by *Abſolute exalting*, —— the dangerous, and intolerable *Pride* of *Biſhops*; and by their *total ſubverſion*, on the other ſide, how ſadly the word goes with *The Profeſſours of the Goſpel*.

Theſe trivial appearances have more weight, than commonly the world imagines: *'Tis not ſo much* ( as *Hooker* ſaies ) *how ſmall the ſpark is that flyeth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire.* Their buſineſſe is

to

to ſtirre the affections of the common people, which muſt be done by means and wayes to wiſe men, in themſelves *ridiculous*, but in their applications of moſt deſperate effects.

I ſpeak in earneſt, that very Tone they uſe in Preaching; that *Fellow-feeling-Tone*, (as they would have it underſtood) do I believe of great uſe to their buſineſſe. I have obſerved the *Groans* that follow'd the *Ahi-mee's*; and beyond doubt thoſe ſnivelling affectations are not without their benefit. That 'tis a forc'd and acted paſſion, is evident in this; they almoſt all of them uſe the ſame *Enychaſis*.

I would not for my Hand let fall a ſyllable ſhould caſt a ſcandal upon that Holy Ordinance: and with my Soul I reverence the grave, and pious Clergy. We cannot attribute enough to God; aſſure too little to our ſelves. We cannot be too much afflicted for our ſinnes, nor too ſenſible of our own unworthyneſſe. Yet I ſuppoſe a fit Chriſtian ſorrow may be contained within ſuch terms as to reach *Heaven*, without diſturbing the *Congregation*. To come to a Church dore, and hear an out-cry, as if a man were cutting for the Stone; and what's all this, but an afflicted Paſtor mourning for thoſe heavy judgements, that hang over this Land becauſe of Common Prayer: And then the Siſters Groan ſo ruthfully, you'd ſwear Five hundred Women were in Labour. Away with theſe oſtentations of Holyneſſe,—but firſt away with the *Diſcourſe* of *them*.

I muſt confeſs the Gentleman hath offered Fair; and more I doubt then he can undertake for, were it accepted. What if Six Presbyterians of Seven renounce his *Moderation*, and ſay he treated without Commiſſion: where's his *Pacifique Coalition* then? 'Tis for a Parity they ſtruggle; which when they have

have got, they ſhall as much conteſt among themſelves to cruſh again, as ever they did to introduce. Juſt thus was the King treated; Hee was to Rule in *Conſociation* too, by the *adviſe* of his Presbyters. And what came on't? The Factions enterfer'd; the Change went round the Circle; and at long length, in the place of a moſt *Gracious Prince*, up ſtarts a moſt *Tyrannical Protectour*.

And yet I verily think, a way might be found out to work upon theſe people: Let the King ſettle their ſtrict Form of Diſcipline; fill the Presbyteries with Epiſcopal Divines, and Elders of his own Partie; I verily believe theſe very men would be as hot for Biſhops. I cannot comprehend the Temper of that *Sacrilegious Tenderneſs* that makes men *Digeſt* Biſhops *Lands*, and yet forſooth they cannot *Swallow* the *Sleeves*.

Onely this word. Some of the Authors I have quoted *for Epiſcopacy*, (to deal ſyncerely) may be as well produced *againſt* it. For That, let them look to't, I am Innocent: and my Cauſe cleerer for it, They found it for their Intereſt to Engage their Diſciples in many Opinions, which for their honour they would not undertake to defend againſt their Equalls.

I Should end here, were I not drawn beyond my purpoſe, by a *Second Part*, from the ſame Hand; which ſhould not yet divert me from my firſt Intention, could I but ſave my ſelf, in letting it abſolutely alone. By the Formalities of *Title* and *Connexion*, it ſeems Related to the Former part, further then by ſome paſſages in the Treatiſe it appears to be: whereof ſome few I am concern'd to Examine, and I ſhall ſhorten even that little I intend, as much as Poſſible. He Calls it——

# A Deliberative Diſcourſe,

*PROVING,*

*That it is not agreeable to ſound Reaſon to preſer the Contracted and Dividing Intereſt of one Party, before the general Intereſt of* Proteſtantiſm, *and of the whole Kingdom of England, in which the* Epiſcopal *and* Presbyterian *Parties may be happily United.*

*Obſervation.*

Wee are agreed in *all* but in the *Main*; and as to That, I have already ſhewed, that in the Subject of our Difference, the *Presbyterian Party* (that is, the *Kirk Party*) is divided from the *Proteſtant*: So that unleſſe it can be made out, by the Judgement of the *Reformed Churches*, that *Prælacy* is *Antichriſtian*, and that *Inſtituted Ceremonies* are *Unlawfull*; the Author of this *Deliberation* overthrowes himſelf by his own Argument, of preferring *the General Intereſt of* Proteſtantiſm, *before the Contracted, and Dividing Intereſt of one Party.* We ſhould not take in *Diſcipline* within the Pale of *Religion*, but againſt That Party, which reckons it an *eſſential* Marque of the *Church.* And let them take their Choyce, whether it ſhall be accompted among things *Indifferent*, or *Neceſſary.* If the *Former*, *Obey the Impoſition*, if the *Latter*, let them produce their *Authority.*

If the *Foundation* be miſlayed the *Building* will hardly ſtand: Or, which is worſe, it falls upon the Builder.

He ſayes, his Ayme is *Unity*, and truly ſo is mine; But *Unity* in ſuch a Compoſition will never ſet us right. Two may agree in the ſame point of Verity; but

but then that Truth must for it ſelf be enterteyn'd, without conſidering one another. If about any thing *Material* we differ, fly to the *Judge* of *Truth*: The *Scriptures*, and the *Church*: If about leſſe, and Common Matters, go to the *Rule* of *Duty*, (in ſuch Caſes) the ſetled *Law*. But I forget my ſelf.

*It muſt needs be* (ſayes the *Deliberator*) *the wiſdom* Page 14. *of this State to ſmother all dividing Factions, and to aboliſh all partial Intereſts, that the common Intereſt of* England *may be alone exalted.*

*Obſervation.*

I hope he does not mean, by *State*, the *Keepers of the Liberties*; if the *Supreme Authority* of this Nation, as it is Legally Veſted in the *King*, the Man has kill'd himſelf. What are *Dividing Factions*, but ſuch Parties as ſtart from that Common Rule, the Law, which every State is bound upon a Principle of *Policy*, and *Honour* to preſerve Sacred, and Inviolable. *The beſt rule of Intereſt is the Law.*

The *Law* is but the *Wiſdom* treaſured up of many Ages;—only an amaſſe of all thoſe lights which long *Experience*, ſtrict *ſearch* and *Induſtry*, and many Conſultations of great Stateſmen, have given to the Diſcovery of our true Intereſt. Great Reaſon is there to Approve ſo great *Authority*: and as great ſhame it were not to avow what we our ſelves have done; (The Law being but an Univerſal Vote) beſide the penalty of *Diſobedience*. How *Mad* then, how *Ignoble*, and how *Deſperate* ſhall we eſteem that Faction, that breaks through all theſe Bonds of *Reverence*, *Honour*, and *Prudential Security* to force that Sanctuarie, wherein as *Chriſtians*, and as *Men* we have repoſed, Firſt, the Protection of our *Religion*; — and then

the Arbitration of our Lives and Fortunes.

From such Dividers Heaven *deliver* us, first, and then *preserve* us.

Page 36. *All Enterprises* (sayes our Author verie rationally) *that have their beginning in judgement, and not in passion, are directed to a certain end set up as a mark, and that end is not a business at rovers; but some particular steddie issue of things certainly or probably apprehended and expected: Wherefore let wise men consider the mark whereat they level, and to what issue and state of things their Actions tend.*

*Observation.*

Most certain, 'tis; without that marque men go they know not whither. *First*, the *End*; *then*, the *Way*; is (I suppose) the Common Methode of all *Wise men*: and his advice to *such*, to look before them, might have been spared, they would have don't without it. Now to his Businesse; but first, I'll clear the way to't. The *Question* is.

Page 33. *Whether the fomenting of these Discords*, (viz. in matters of Discipline) *do not proceed from a Carnal Design?* And he debates the matter with the *Episcopalians*.

Page 34. *Here is a numerous Party, not of the dreggs and refuse of the Nation, but of the judicious and serious part thereof: VVhat will they do with them? and how will they order the matter concerning them? VVould they destroy them? I solemnly professe that I abhor to think so by the generalitie of the Episcopal perswasion: I would disdain to mention such an unreasonable impietie, were it not to shew the inconsiderate and absurd proceedings of an unalterable opposition, as that it cannot drive to any formed end and issue.*

That

*That Protestants should destroy Protestants for dissenting in the point of Ceremonies, and sole jurisdiction of Bishops, is so dreadfull a violation of Charitie and common honesty, that it is a most uncharitable and dishoneſt thing to suppose it of them. What then? would they bear them down, or keep them under hard Conditions? Shall all persons that cannot yield exact obedience to Ecclesiastical injunctions concerning all the parts of the Liturgie, and Ceremonies, be suspended and deprived as formerly? Shall Ministers of this Judgement be cast and kept out of Ecclesiastical preferment and Imployment? Shall all private conferences of godly peaceable Christians, for mutual edification, be held unlawfull Conventicles? It hath been thought by wise men to be against the Rules of Government to hold under a rigid yoke a free people of such a number and quality, and intermingled in all estates and ranks, and intimately conjoyned with all parts of the Body Politique, that it is almost impossible to exclude their Interest from a considerable share in publick actions.*

*Observation.*

We are so often told of this *Judicious, serious Party*, pray let's allow them to be a Company of very fine Gentlemen, and mind our buſineſſe. I think he sayes they are *numerous* too. So were the *Frogs that came into the King's Chamber*: and what of that?

In good truth, altogether, it is a very pretty *Anagram* of *Sedition*. If it wants any single Circumstances that's needfull to procure a Tumult, I am exceedingly mistaken.

Marque it: here's *Number*; *Conduct*, and Presence of *Right*, to *Embolden*, and to *Fix* the *Multitude*. Then, to *Provoke*, and *Heighten* them; old Sores are

rubb'd; they are minded how they were uſed ſo long ago; and hinted yet of worſe behind, if they have not a care betimes. What is all this to ſay, but,

*Gentlemen, you remember how it was with you formerly; if you have a mind to have any more on't ſo. But things are well enough yet; for be confident, you have thoſe will ſtand by you, that know what to do, and know to make their hearts ake. — Why it is againſt all Rule of Government, to put this yoke upon a Free People.*

If the Author be within hearing; he ſhould do well to be his own Expoſitour. In the mean while compare we the Gloſſe with the Text.

He ſpeaks now in his own words, which the Reader may find by conferring them with the entire matter of the laſt Quotation, to be extracted with ſtrict juſtice to his meaning.

*Here is* (ſayes he) *a numerous Party, of the judicious and ſerious part of the Nation: what will they* (the Epiſcopalians) *do with them? &c. would they deſtroy them? &c. I ſolemnly profeſſe, that I abhor to think ſo of the generality of the Epiſcopal perſwaſion; &c. ſhall they be ſuſpended, and deprived as formerly? ſhall all private conferences of Godly, peaceable Chriſtians, for mutual Edification be held unlawfull Conventicles? It hath been thought by wiſe men to be againſt the Rules of Government to hold under a rigid yoke a Free People of ſuch a Number, and Quality.* —

This is cutting of a Mans Throat with a Whetſtone. Truly *Horace* his ſaying would ſound very well from this Gentleman.

— *Fungor*

——*Fungor vice Cotis, acutum*
*Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi.*

My Office is to *Whet*, not *Cut*.

To tye him up now to his own Philoſophy, which is, ( according to his fore-alleadged Poſition ) that *all Rational Enterprizes propoſe ſome certain end, unto which end, all wiſe men conform their mediate Actions.* If it be ſo; (as we are agreed upon it) then by that very reaſon which directs him to chuſe the *means*, are we enabled likewiſe to gueſſe the *end*.

His *End* he ſayes is *Peace*; and in this Treatiſe he hath chalk'd his way to't. He's a *wiſe man*, and certainly proceeds in order to *the Marque he levels at*. Let him be judged by his own Rule.

*Presbyterian method of making Peace.*

To mind the peeviſh, of old Grievances, and in ſo doing to tranſport the honeſt with a juſt ſenſe of new indignities; *Is this the way of Peace?*

To break a Solemn *Law*, that Law that ſaved the Breakers of it; to abuſe the Mercy of that Prince that made it: and to traduce the Government of his Father, whom they themſelves deſtroy'd; and which is worſe, to juſtify all this: *Is this the way of Peace?*

To ſtartle the mad brutiſh Rabble with dangerous apprehenſions; to lay the juſtice of their cauſe before them, and when they are ripe for miſchief, to ſhew them Men, and Armes, ——*Is this the way of Peace?* ——Then let me learn which is the way of *Tumult*.

*Shall Proteſtants deſtroy Proteſtants,* (ſaies he) *for diſſenting in the point of Ceremonies?* No, but the *Law* ſhall deſtroy *Subjects*, for attempting to Rule their *Governours*.

Touching

Touching their *Conventicles*, since they fall in my way, I think of them, as of the Painter's *Bad God*, that made a *Good Devil*: I take them to be none of the best *Churches*, but for ought I know, they may make excellent ——

I beg onely to observe now the *equity* of these good Folkes.

Page 38. *Is it for the service of Christ, and the encrease of his Kingdom the Church, that so many able Divines should be debarred the use of the Lords Talents, that so many laborious Ministers should sit still in silence; that when Christ teacheth us to pray that the Lord would thrust forth Labourers into his Harvest, those Labourers should be thrust out of his Harvest? Surely this would make a cry in the ears of the Lord of the Harvest.*

*Observation.*

Does none of the *Woes* in the Gospel belong to this talker of it? The service of God went merrily on, in the *Through-Reformation*; did it not? When not a Minister kept his living but to the hazzard of his Soul; and in several places, (where the allowance was small) neither *Sacrament* nor *Sermon*, for divers years together. But in those dayes, the Covenant kept all in good Order.

With what a monstrous confidence does this man presse a *Text*, which the whole Nation knows is clear against him! And all in Scripture phrase forsooth: *Ne sine formâ tantum scelus fiat*, for the honour of the exploit. These people use *Religion*, just as the *London*-Cookes do their pickled *Barbaries*: they *garnish* with it. It serves for every thing: I know not how it is, but they do't, because they find the women like it.

When

When the *Episcopal*, and loyal *Clergy*, their *Wives*, *Children*, and *Families* were swept entirely away by that SCOTCH PLAGUE the COVENANT; That made no cry sure *in the ears of the Lord of the Harvest*. Let the great Judge of all the world determine it.

*If the neglect of brotherly Pacification hold on, and the* Page 39. Hierarchy *resolve upon their own advancement to the highest pitch, one may well conclude, that they make a full reckoning to wear out the Presbyterians, and to swallow up their Interest, conceiving they are able to effect it by degrees; and that greater changes than these have been wrought without much ado.*

*Observation.*

Let but the meanest Soul alive now judge of these mens Consciences! (I speak of those that tumult since the *Act* of *Pardon*) As deep a forfeiture as ever was made by mortals, the King hath remitted to them. They have cost the Nation more than they have left it worth, beside the *Blood*, the *Grief*, and *Desolation* they have brought upon it. This notwithstanding, they have at this instant the self same Interest they ever had, as to *Freedome*, and *Safety*, and otherwise *more*: They keep what they have got; beg, and get more; and are not yet content unless they Govern too. But this is but another Alarm, as who should say; *Look to your selves my Masters*; lose not an Inch, for if you do, they'll do your Business *by degrees*.

By and by, among other concurring advantages, to the great Changes Queen *Elizabeth* wrought in Religion; he reckons this for one.

*Popery* (saies he) *being in substance a Religion con-* Page 41. *trary*

*trary to what was publickly professed, had no advantage for encrease by publick Preaching, or Books, publickly allowed.*

*Observation.*

Nothing more certain, than that the Freedome of the *Presse* and *Pulpit*, is sufficient to embroyl the best ordred Government in the world.

All Governments have their *Disorders* and their *Malecontents*: The *one* makes use of the *other*, and here's the ground of all Rebellions. Some *Real faults* are first found and laid open to the People, which, if in matter of popular Freedome, or Religion; so much the stronger is the Impression; the vulgar being naturally stubborn, and Superstitious. Bring it to this, a very little industry carries it on at pleasure. They shall believe impossibilties, Act eagerly, they know not what, nor why; and while they reach at *Liberty* grasp their own *Fetters*. Their unhappinesse is, they can better *Phansy* a Government without any faults, than *brook* one that hath *some*. Adde but to this distemper, Licencious Pamphlets, and seditious Sermons, the world shall never keep that people quiet.

Wherefore, since on all hands it is agreed, that *Printing*, and *Preaching* in opposition to a *publick establishment*, are of so dangerous consequence, by the force of the Gentlemans own Rule we ought to hear no more of their Discipline from the *Presse* or *Pulpit*. *Observe his next Coherence.*

Page 42. *There are now in* England *thousands of Ministers dissatisfied in the* Hierarchy *and* Ceremonies, *who are abl competently and many of them eminently learned. The are not generally of light spirits, but steddy and well reso*

*ved*

*ved, and tenderly affected touching their ſpiritual liber-ties.*

*Obſervation.*

Take notice firſt, how *many*, and how *reſolute* they are. That is, take notice *again*, for we have had it exceeding often. His *Reſolute thouſands* make me think of the Tribes repairing to *David*. But they are diſſatisfy'd he ſaies: it may be 'tis becauſe they are not *Biſhops*: Yet truly if they be ſo well *reſolved*, methinks they ſhould not be diſſatisfy'd with that they cannot help. I'll ask but two Queſtions, and I have done. 1 Chr. 12.

1. *Are any of thoſe tender Conſcienc'd thouſands, that are ſo tenderly affected toward ſpiritual Liberties, thoſe Presbyterians that denyed the King the freedome of of his own Chaplains?*

2 *Had any of theſe eminently learned thouſands a hand in the Aſſembly's Letter to the Reformed Churches of* France, *the* Low-Countries, &c.— (as great a Schiſm in *Learning*, as the other was in *Religion*) *He comes now to the point indeed.*

*Commonly* (ſaies he) *thoſe people who try all Doctrines by Scripture, and are ſwayed more by its Authority than by the Ordinances and Cuſtomes of men, do much heſitate and ſtagger concerning the ſole Juriſdiction of Biſhops, the pomp of the* Hierarchy, *and ſacred myſtical Ceremonies of Humane Inſtitution. And therefore let the Epiſcopal Party never look to be rid of theſe difficulties, till they remove the matters in Queſtion, whereat a knowing people are alwayes ready to ſtumble.* Page 43.

*Obſervation.*

Go to then, ſince the Gentlemen will have it ſo, grant for diſpatch the thing he preſſes, to wit,—that they do *Heſitate*, and *Stagger*. 'Tis hard, that when upon a private ſearch, the Queſtion hangs in Ballance, the caſting in the Authority of the Church, and the great weight of Chriſtian Charity, ſhould not be yet enough to turn the Scale. *He that Doubts, Sins*, will not excuſe that man, who becauſe *he thinks he ſtands*, refuſes to take heed of falling.

But let him *doubt*, nay more, let him *reſolve*; all is but for *himſelf* ſtill, not for *mee*. When he comes once to muſter up his Thouſands, and talk of Parties, his plea of Conſcience is gone: and doubtleſſe, theſe violent and publique ſticklers for the Scrupulous, (that is, in ſuch and ſuch particulars) are the greateſt enemies they have. It caſts a ſcandal upon the very Cauſe of Conſcience, when thoſe who evidently want it in themſelves, plead for it in others. Upon this Subject, exceedingly well ſayes M. *Lloyd*, in a late Treatiſe of *Primitive Epiſcopacy*, *Page* 80. *It becomes not good men to cenſure us for uſeing thoſe Rites and Ceremonies; which we are perſwaded not to be prohibited by Gods Law, and both they and we do ſurely know to be commanded to be uſed by mans Law duely made, which is Gods Ordinance, to which we muſt be ſubject for Conſcience ſake.* And a little after, — *If any will attempt to be Authors of Combinations, to extort, by ſhew of multitudes and by tumults, the alteration or abrogation of any part of the eſtabliſhed Laws, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, they will thereby evidently manifeſt themſelves to be but meer pretenders to a tender Conſcience, and power of Godlineſſe; for they that labour to extort*

*extort a part, if they prevail, must have the whole in their power. And can they that attempt so great robbery love God, and the power of Godlinesse? By this curſed fruit we know theſe to be moſt vile Hypocrites.* Now to our Adverſary.

The Gentleman deſires to clear the Presbyterians of being no *Phanaticks*: and we'll give him the hearing.

*It is ſaid that the Presbyterians promoted the Kings Return, not out of good will to his Majeſty, or a love of Order, and Unity, but out of fear of being deſtroy'd by the Phanatiques.*] To this I ſhall ſay little, but that I believe there was more in't than ſo. Let him argue upon it. Page 54.

*The pretended reaſon of their inſincerity ſeems to me to ad much to their reputation in that behalf For if the Phanatiques would deſtroy them, it is manifeſt that they are none of them. Phanaticks would not deſtroy themſelves willingly. The ſeveral various Sects will wrangle with each other in verbal conteſts; but they never knowingly plotted or banded againſt each other upon the account of their different Opinions, but did all unite in one common Principle of pretended liberty of Conſcience, and in one common cauſe of Univerſal Toleration.* Ibid.

*Obſervation.*

A pleaſant Reaſoning. A man would think *Chriſtianity* as ſtrong a tye as *Phanaticiſme*, and yet we ſee *Chriſtians* deſtroy one another. But come to the point. What's more familiar, than for a couple of Curres to hunt the ſame Hare, and when they have catch'd her, worry one another for the Quarry? I'll tell this Gentleman a thing now, ſhall make him take me for a Conjurer. I'll tell him the true reaſon why thoſe

*Presbyterians* help'd his Majesty in, that are not Quiet now they have him. Not for fear of the *Phanatiques*: he made that Objection himself for ought I know: but Here 'tis. (Still saving to my self the freedom of Interpreting my own Words.)

## I speak onely of those Presbyterians that since his Majesties happy Returne, are yet fomenting of new Troubles.

The Presbyterians do their own business in the Kings name

The Presbyterian Faction have been ever constant to the Rule, and Methode, of doing their *own* Business, in the *Kings* name; and this went far with the simple, and well meaning people; but let not any man believe this Interest did their work. The ruine of his blessed Majesty, was that unhappy Agreement with the Covenanters in 1639. after so horrid an expence of *Time* and *Mony*, as gave the greatest benefit Imaginable, to their Interest, and an equal disadvantage to his Own. The King by this expence being grown Poor; and They strong by the Delay, was more and more oppressed, till at the last the Field was clear'd: He and his Party in appearance Lost.

What did these great Pretenders then for the good of *King* and *Church*, but share the Booty, and exercise a Power themselves ten thousand times more Turkish than ever they called That they had abolished? What hindered then the Settlement of this Nation upon its *legal Basis*, (as they phrase it) if the good People had but had a mind to it? Who kept the King from his Parliament? —— or was he ever nam'd but with relation to the Losse of *Right* as well as *Power*.

Well, but at last, these people take their turns too, and then the King's a Gracious Prince again. These

Factions

Factions are of kin to *Montaignes* Familie, where the Son beats the Father from generation to generation. Now we come near our purpose.

Look back into the *Scotch* defeat in 1648. Not any thing more clear sure, then that the Presbyterian party, would they but frankly have closed with the Kings Tryed Friends in that Engagement; without a Miracle, they must have carryed it. Those Few they had, did well nigh all that was considerable in the Action.

See afterward, in 50, and 51. how dirtily upon this very accompt, the Presbyterian crew treated his Majesty: and look quite through their *Interregnum*; they have observed the same indisposition of uniting with the Kings Party, but still shaking the Head, with an *Alas poor Gentleman*, at the mention of our persecuted Soveraign. Not to insist upon English Particulars; *They* never would joyn with *Us* to help his *Majesty*, *we* never refused with *them*. Now comes the Mysterie of the Reserve. Say they,

If we can order Matters so as to get the King's *Person* in the head of us, and keep out his *Party*. Their hands are ty'd by a Principle of Duty; Our Power is enlarged upon an Interest of favour, and we can play our Game at pleasure. That is, Wee'l not forget to mind him of his Restorers, and now and then a Whisper, how Debaucht the Gentry's grown: how unfit this man is for *Trust*, that for *Temper*, and a Third for *Conduct*.

Wee may then propose the naming of Officers, and wee'r to blame if we forget our selves. By these Degrees and wayes Time and a little Patience will wear them out; or if it were nothing else, the very Poverty we have reduc'd them to, would make them soon Contemptible.

Whereas

Whereas ſhould we but offer once a General agreement with that Party, our Deſign's ſpoyl'd, for they'll be more than we ſhall well know how to maſter. No, no, that muſt not be. Our Intereſt lyes to take in juſt ſo many, as when they have done our Work, we may be able to turn out again. So much for That.

This is the very Soul of the rigid Presbyterians.

page 60. Poor Wormes, *Where is our Charity and Regard* (they crye) *to publick tranquillitie, if we reject the ſure and only means of Concord?* ]

*Obſervation.*

He ſhould have rather ſaid, where is our *Providence*, if we admit ſo ſure an Introduction to Confuſion. To comply with one Importunity of this nature, is to Authorize, and encourage more, and to pleaſe all, is totally Impoſſible.

The *Canons* ſtick in his Stomack notably, they force

page 61. too much, and bring in *Poperie*. [*Shall not the Laity be allow'd to ſearch the Scriptures, nor try the Doctrines delivered, but acquieſce in what their Teachers ſay without the Exerciſe of their own Reaſoning, or judgement of Diſcretion?*]

*Obſervation.*

Yes, let them *ſearch the Scriptures*, as their *Teacher* may the *Lawes*, yet by their Leave, the *Church*, and *Bench* muſt interpret them. What difference is there betwixt King *James* his *Phanatiques*, and King *Charles* his; ſave that they aſcribe one and the ſame Effect to ſeveral Cauſes. Both claiming equal *Certainty*, the *One*, from his *Judgement of Diſcretion*: the

Other

*Other*, from *Divine Impulse?* What work shall we have when every Taylour shall with his *Judgement of Discretion* cut out his own Discipline, and set it up for a Fashion. *when these men and their Bibles are alone together*, (as *Hooker* sayes) what *Phrensies* do they call directions of the Spirit!

He comes now to the Politicks.

*It is a chief point of knowledge in those whose work it is* Page 62. *to mould and manage a Nation according to any order of things, to understand what is the temper of the people, what Principles possess and govern them, or considerable Parties of them, and to what passe things are already brought among them.*

*Observation.*

The more a Prince considers this, the lesse will he afford a *Scotiz'd English Presbyterian*. By Temper he's *Ambitious*; and *Unthankfull*; ever *Craving*; and never *Full*: Govern'd by Principles *Insociable*, and *Cruel*. He rates his Party, his Piety, and his Kindnesse, twenty times greater then they are, and rather than confesse that he is out in his Reckoning, he shall face any other man down that *One*, on the wrong side of a Cipher is 1000.

Lastly, in Considering to what passe things are brought among them, he will bethink himself likewise how they came to be so.

*A State may probably root out such Opinions as it con-* Page 63. *ceives to be heterodox and inconvenient, by using great severitie in the beginning, when the Opinions are but newly sowed in mens minds, and the People are of such a nature, as to abhor dangers, and aime to live securely, and when the Nation in generall is devoted to the antient custom of their Fore-fathers. But the same course may not be taken when*

*the*

*the Opinions have been deeply rooted and far ſpread, by long continuance, in a Nation of a free ſpirit, and zealous; and the generalitie of thoſe, that in a Law-ſence are called* Cives, *do not deteſt them.*

*Obſervation.*

Truly in this Caſe, if Heterodox *Opinions* cannot be rooted out, the *Men* that publiquely maintain them muſt: and the rather, if they be *free*, and *jealous*: for there's the more danger in their further Progreſſe. Eſpecially if ſuch Opinions preſcribe from the ſucceſſe of Treaſon. For There, even in matters of themſelves very Allowable, I would not leave the leaſt marque of an approbation. It gives too great an honour to *Rebellion*. Provided alwayes that I act at Liberty, and free from Pre-ingagements.

Where there is ſuch a Real Cauſe of Fear, as is here ſhadow'd to us; That Prince that loves his Empire, or his *Honour*, muſt ſtruggle with it betimes: *Safety*, or *Pleaſure*, ſuch a people perhaps will be content to allow in exchange for Soveraignty: But for the reſt, that Prince is loſt that puts himſelfe on the Asking ſide.

It never fayles, this Rule: *when Subjects earneſtly preſſe for more than they ought, they ayme at more yet than they aske.* They are already paſt their Dutie, and ſhort of their Ambition.

In ſuch a Caſe as This, Rigour is the onely Remedy: great Aptneſſe to forgive is entertain'd with greater Proneſſe to offend.

Let it be thought upon; if any Danger, where it lyes. Not in the bare Conceit of Phancy, or Diſlike, for, or againſt the Matter in Diſpute, but in the meanes that give Forme, growth, and ſtrength to thoſe unquiet Motions; and that aſſemble thoſe

Looſe

Looſe ſcatter'd Sparkes into one Flame.

Theſe Inſtruments are mercenary *Pulpit-men*, and *Scriblers*; 'tis but removing them, and the Danger's over.

Leaſt he ſhould ſeem to want a Colour for theſe Freedomes, he tells us, that [*the preſent Age being more diſcerning, all ſorts affect a greater Liberty of Judgement and Diſcourſe, than hath been uſed in Former times.*] Page 65.

*Obſervation.*

This we obſerv'd, but did not till now impute it to *Diſcretion*. Suppoſe they ſhould grow more and more *Diſcerning*, and their Deſires of Liberty grow too; would not theſe People ſoon grow Wiſe enough to *Governe*, that are already grown too good to *Obey*? 'Tis dangerous truſting of them; yet he aſſures us otherwiſe.

*This Kingdom after the removing of ſoundations, is by a marvellous turn re-eſtabliſhed upon its antient baſis. And verily that which hath wrought the change will ſettle it; that which hath brought ſuch things to paſſe, will keep them where they are, if we do not overlook and ſleight it. And what was it but the conſent of the univerſality, the Vote of all* Eng land? Page 66.

*Obſervation.*

If all that acted toward this late and bleſſed Change meant to Fix here: this needleſſe, ill timed, and dividing Controverſie, concerning Ceremonies, would have been ſpared: and thoſe which move the Queſtion with ſuch earneſtneſſe; at their *Prayers*, ra-

then, than these *Expostulations*. 'Tis an ill Age when Theeves arraign the Law. That sort of men which ruin'd us, proposes now that very Methode by which we were destroyed, to settle us, inviting the distemper'd people by this Overture, to take their *Poysoners* for their *Physicians*.

'Tis very true, that (under Providence) It was the Common *Vote*, and stirring of the *Nation*, restored the *King*, and the *Law*: and shall we now restreyn that universal comfort to the Particular Advantage of that single Party, that first invaded them? How great a blemish were it to the Honour, and Wisedom of the Nation, after so long, and hard a Tugge, to throw away the summe of the Contest: as if we had wrangled all this while for Shadowes! But to explain my self.

They that think matter of *Ceremony* to be the True reason of the Difference on either side, mistake themselves. It is the *Law* it self, which is *assaulted* by the One Party, and *defended* by the Other, in the *Particular* of *Ceremonie*: and it is the King himself that is affronted in the Indignities they cast upon Bishops To leave the matter clear: There is a Faction which would overthrow the Law, and set up themselves above it; & These Contrivers put the People upon Cavilling for Ceremonies. *They* innocently, under a Mistake of *Conscience*, advance an Interest of *Usurpation*, taking that to be onely a Dispute about the Lawfull-nesse of the *Practise*, which rationally pinches upon the validity of the *Power*. It ends in This.

*Grant once that a* Popular Vote *may over-rule a* Stated Law, *(though but to the value of a Hayre) the vertue of that Reason extends to our* Freedoms, Lives, and Fortunes, *which by the same Rule, they may take away as well as* Ceremonies.

And

And (as the case stands) *Kings* as well as *Bishops*.

But [*seeing this great Revolution hath not happened, by the prevailing force of one Party, but by the unstrained motion of all* England: *what reason is there that one Party should thrust the other out of its due place of rest, upon the common Foundation?* Page 67.

*Observation.*

No reason in the world. *The Law is our common resting place*: the main *Foundation* upon which we are all to Bottom. The Law is an impartial Judge, let that determine, which place belongs to *Bishops*, which to *Presbyters*, what *Ceremonies* are *lawful*, and which *not*.

This is a *short* and a *sure* way, worth forty of his *Coalition*.

Having *pressed Union* hitherto, *he proceeds now to remove certain impediments*; *One* whereof *is an erroneous judgement touching the times foregoing the late Wars*. Page 73.

*Observation.*

In truth 'tis pitty the people are no better Instructed. Then let them know from me, those very Principles these folkes contend for, were brought by *Knox* about 1558. from *Geneva* into *Scotland*, from thence they were transmitted into *England*, since which time, the abettors of them in both Nations, have never ceased by *Leagues*, *Tumults*, *Rebellions*, and *Usurpations*, to embroyl the publique Peace, and affront the Supreme Authority.

They have formally proceeded to the *Deposing of Princes*, the exercise of an absolute Authority over

the *Subject*: the *abrogation* of *Lawes*, the *Impoſition* of *Taxes*, and in fine to all extremities of rigour as well in matters of *Liberty*, as of *Conſcience*. He that deſires a *Presbytery*, let him but read *Presbyter*, for *King*, in the 1 *Sam.* 8. and he ſhall there find what he is reaſonably to expect. Theſe were the pranks fore-going the late Wars: and ſuch as theſe will be again, if people be not the wiſer.

But our Camerade will be none of the Party ſure: Page 74. For, *I abhor* (ſaies he) *to take upon me the defence of our late diſtracted times: the diſtempers thereof I would not in any wiſe palliate.*]

*Obſervation.*

Is the wind in that dore? Now do I feel by his Pulſe, that *Crofton*'s laid by the Heels. He hath forgot, that the *War was between the King, and both Houſes of Parliament.*] And that *the Presbyterian Party in* England *never engaged under a leſſe Authority than that of both Houſes of Parliament.*] *And that Presbyterians have never diſclaimed, or abandoned their lawful Prince.*] It may be he means, that he will not juſtify the Diſtempers of the other ſide. But why do we conteſt? ſince he tells us, that, ——

Intereſt of England. Part 1. Page 13. Part 1. Page 49. Ibid. 53.

Page 75. *It is the part of weak and ſelfiſh minds to contract Religion to certain modes and forms which ſtand not by Divine Right, but by the wills of men, and which are of little efficacy, and very diſputable, and if ſuppoſed lawful, ought to be governed by the rule of* Charity.

*Obſervation.*

I would fain know, which is more tolerable; for the

the *Church* to impose upon the *People*, or the *People* upon the *Church*? For the *People* on the one side, to *exempt* all, or for the *Church* on the other side, to *bind* all.

*Order* it *self* is of Divine appointment; but the *manner* of Ordering, (save where God himself hath preimposed) is left to Humane liking and Discretion. *To think* (saies he) *that none is a good Christian, a sound Protestant, a fit Minister, that cannot subscribe to such Modes, and Forms, proceeds from a narrow, and ignoble judgement.* Page 75.

*Observation.*

He may be a fit Teacher for *Geneva*, that cannot subscribe to the Form of *England*; and a fit Minister for *England*, that cannot conform to the practice of *Geneva*: they may be both *good Christians* too, and *sound Protestants*; yet neither of them *fit* in transposition. 'Tis one thing to be qualifi'd for the Ministerial *Function*, and another thing to be fit for such or such a *Constitution*. 'Tis true, he *Officiates* as a *Minister*: but *thus*, — or *so*, — as a *Subject*: and that's the real ground of their exception. They do not willingly admit the Kings Authority in matters of the Church: and that, which effectually is but their own ambition, they obtrude upon the world as a high point of tenderness to the people. There are beyond all doubt, weak Consciences, fit objects for indulgence: but the lesse pardonable are their mis-leaders, whose businesse 'tis for their own ends to engage the simple multitude in peynfull, and inextricable scruples.

Let them Preach down-right Treason, stirre up the Rabble to Tumult, and Sedition: if they chance to be caught

caught and questioned for it: see with what softness they treat their Fellowes, and with what supercilious gravity their Superiours.

Page 78. *When some degree of forwardnesse breaks forth, it is encountred with that severity which hazzards the undoing of the weak part, that should and might be healed.*] And again, to the same effect, (concerning *Creston*'s committment, I imagin) [*But suppose that some of this way* Page 81. *were guilty of some provoking forwardnesse, should grave Patriots and wise Counsellours thereupon destroy the weak part, or rather heal it? A prudent Father is not so provoked by the stubbornnesse of a Child as to cast him out, and make him desperat while there is yet hope concerning him. It is meet indeed for Princes to expresse their just indignation, when Subjects presuming on their clemency do not contain themselves within their duty, & the seasonable expression of such disdain, wisely managed, is of great force in Government: nevertheless if it get the mastery it is exceeding perillous. It was the Counsel of indignation that proceeded from* Rehoboams *young Counsellours.*] What this language deserves both from the King and his Counsel, let those that have Authority to punish, Judge.

Page 83. *When Governours resent the non-compliances of a party, their best remedy is to remove the occasions, when it may be done without crossing the Interests of State or maximes of Government.*

*Observation.*

That is, if the *People* will not yield to the *Prince*, the *Prince* should do well to yield to the *People*. A most excellent way for a King that hath to do with Presby-

Presbyterians: where he shall be sure never to want subject for his humility, nor ever to get thanks for his Labour.

*where there are many sufferers upon a Religious account, whether in truth or pretence, there will be a kind of glory in suffering, and sooner or later it may turn to the Rulers detriment.* Page 84.

*Observation.*

There will not be many *Sufferers*, where there are not many *Offenders*, and there will not be many *Offenders*, where an early severity is used. But however, if any hazzard be, he that *prints* it, *dictates*, *encourages*, and *promotes* it: and deserves to suffer with the foremost. But the Gentleman begins now to talk like a Christian. [*I detest* (saies he) *and abhor the Tumults, and Insurrections of the People, and the resisting of the Soveraign Power.*] Page 98.

*Observation.*

This is honestly said yet: But hold a little. What is that *Soveraign Power*, which he abhorrs should be resisted by the *Tumults of the People*? Even *the two Houses in Co-ordination with the King.*] A little further, [*I am perswaded* (saies he) *that the Generality of the Presbyterian denomination would endure extremities, before they would revenge or defend themselves by unlawful means, as rebelling against their lawful Soveraign.* Interest of England Page 49. Ibid. 98.

*Observation.*

This we shall understand too by confronting it: and find it, only the old Fallacy, a little better colour'd

*This*

Page 49. Intereſt of England. *This part* (ſaies he) *of the Supreme power* (meaning the two Houſes) *is indeed capable of doing wrong; yet how it might be guilty of* Rebellion, *is more difficult to conceive.*] Now if the two Houſes cannot *Rebel*, as being part of the Supreme Power; (by his Argument) neither can the Presbyterians, in complyance with that Party: So that by this miſplacing of the Supreme Authority, whatever hath been Acted by vertue of any Commiſſion from the two Houſes, may be done over again, and no Rebellion.

By this device, he onely diſavowes Rebellion ſo far as this, or that, is not Rebellion according to his propoſition, although the Law determine otherwiſe. This is no more than what was ever maintained even by thoſe that ſtood themſelves upon the higheſt termes of diſobedience. Did ever any man ſay, *This is Rebellion, and I'll juſtify it?* Nay, I ſhould be glad to hear any of them ſay, *This* was *Rebellion, and I'm ſorry for it.* [*But it is evident that the Presbyterians love the*

Page 101. *King, and Kingly Government, and accompt themſelves happy in his Majeſties Clemency, allowing them a juſt, and inoffenſive Liberty in certain matters of Conſcience.*]

*Obſervation.*

The Presbyterians may find many things to thank his Majeſtie for: but I would they could hit upon a handſomer manner of doing it; and not perpetually to be craving *more*, when they ſhould be doing him ſervice for what they have receiv'd *already*. They love the King, they ſay; but then their Love is Conditional, they muſt have ſomething for it.

Would they expoſe themſelves for twenty years together, to *Gaols and Gibbetts*, all ſorts of *Hazzards* and *Misfortunes* for their Prince, and at the laſt ſit down

down, and ſterve Contentedly, out of a ſence of honourable Loyalty?

That Subject is not right, who hath not brought his mind up to this Frame; however unhappy he may think himſelf in ſuch Encounters as put him to the Tryal of his utmoſt Virtue.

*wiſe men inform us, that a Prince by adhering to one Faction, may in time lift it up above his own Imperial intereſt, which will be forced to give way to it as the leſſer to the greater. And the prime Leaders of the potent Faction will ſway more than the Prince himſelf. They will become arrogant, unthankfull, and boundleſſe in their ambitious deſignes.* Page 104.

*Obſervation.*

This is a good Rule, but ill applyed; unleſſe return'd upon himſelf. I hope he will not call *That* Party a *Faction*, which ſubmits all its Actions to the clear Letter of the Law; and he will hardly prove *That* to be *None*, which croſſes *This*. If ſo, let Common Reaſon judge betwixt us.

*There is a ſaying, which by many hath been taken up for a Proverb,* No Biſhop no King. *I do not well underſtand the riſe of this ſaying, and therefore dare not ſpeak in derogation of their Judgements who were the Authors of it. But upon the matter it ſelf, I crave to make this modeſt Animadverſion. And firſt it is ſome degrading to the tranſcendent intereſt of Soveraignty, to affix unto it a neceſſity of any one partial intereſt for its ſupport: for independency and ſelf-ſubſiſtence, without leaning upon any Party, is a Prince his ſtrength and glory. Alſo it makes that Party over-confident, and its oppoſite too deſpondent. Such ſayings as import a Princes neceſſary dependence on any particular Party, may in the mouths of Subjects be too prejumptuous, and in the mouth of a Prince too unwary.* Page 106.

*Observation.*

If we are not yet instructed in the Weight, and Reason of that saying, — *NO BISHOP NO KING*; Sure we are past learning any thing. We found the sad truth of this Judgement, in the event of the late War; but that's no Rule. By *No Bishop no King*, is not intended that Bishops are the Props of Royalty, nor do the Episcopalians understand it so: but that both one and the other are Objects of the same Fury; onely the Church goes First: so that without *presumption*, a *Subject* may *affirm* it; and without loss of Honour a Prince may grant it.

I might draw Arguments from the Agreement of their *Original*, the likeneſſe of their *Constitution*, the Principles by which they are *supported*; and that they lye exposed to the same Enemies, and the same method of Destruction. But this would seem to imply a more Inseverable Interest than I ayme at; and rayse the Clergy above the proper State, and Orbe of Subjects. My meaning is more clear and open.

All Popular Factions take the *Church* in their way to the *State*; and I am to seek where ever any Prince quitted *Episcopacy*, and saved *Himself*. That is, his *Royal Dignity*; for the empty *Name* of *King*, is but the *Carkasse* of Majesty. It is with the unruly Populacy, as it is with raging Tides, they presse where the Bank is weakest, and in an instant over-runne all. If they had either Modesty, or Conscience, they would not force so far: if they have neither, will they stop There? What did the late King Grant; or rather, what Deny? till by their mean Abuse of his unlimited Concessions, he lost his Crown, and Life? Yet what

assurance

assurance Words could give him, he wanted not: Words wrapt up in the most tender and Religious Formes imaginable. But what are Words, where a Crown lyes at stake?

In fine, *Treason's a Canker; and where it seizes, that Prince must early cut off the Infected Part, if he would save the Sound.*

*The true Church lies in the middle between two ex-* Page 116.
*treams, Formalists, and Fanaticks. They are of circumspect and regular walking, no way forward in attempting or desiring alterations in a Civil State. A Prince doth hold them in obedience under a double bond. For they know they must needs be subject not onely for wrath, but for Conscience sake. Indeed we will not conceal, that in lawfull wayes they assert that Liberty which is setled by the known Lawes and Fundamental Constitutions, the maintaining whereof is the Prince's as much as the Peoples safety.*

*Observation.*

If to be no way Forward in promoting Changes in the Civil State, be a marque of the Church: The Presbyterians are out of the Pale. It's truth, they are, it seems, Assertours of *Lawfull Libertie*, in *Lawfull waies*: but how is that *Image*? Did they not tell us this when their Swords were at our Throats: when it was Death to assist the King? When they were forc'd to flye to the *Equitable* sence of the Law, and quit the *Literal*: and fetch their Arguments from Inspiration, becaus they had none in Reason.

I shall here put an End to this Discourse, which is become much longer already than I meant it, by reason of his Addition. *Croftons* ill Fortune I find hath made

made him *wary*, but not *humble*; for he presses the same Things in substance still, though in somewhat a differing manner of Respect, and seeming Candour. The good Words he gives, belong to those Persons which he shall vouchsafe to Call *serious*, and to think worthy of them; and the Government is to be moulded, and disposed of as he pleases.

Finally, he pretends to ayme at a Fair, and Christian Accord, and yet proceeds in a direct method of Dividing: by sharp, and scandalous Reflections upon the Kings Partie.

To say no more, his Reasonings are *Dishonourable* to the memorie of the *Late* King: *Seditious*, and *Provoking* to the *People*: *Bold*, and *Imposing* in *themselves*: *Repugnant* to the established *Law*, and to the main scope of the *General Pardon*.

How out of all these ill Ingredients should be composed a National, and healing Balsome, I shall now give the Reader leisure to consider.

*Malè imperatur, ubi regit Vulgus Duces.*

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FINIS.

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